

Graduate School of Business

**IMPLEMENTING THE 9th NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT PLAN:
A STUDY OF DISCOURSE BETWEEN
THAI GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND VILLAGERS**

Sirinart Paetyangkul

**This thesis is presented for the Degree of
Doctor of Business Administration
of
Curtin University of Technology**

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Declaration

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

Signature:

Date:

Abstract

This study focuses on how officials and villagers communicate with regard to government policy, especially in relation to sufficiency living stated in the national development plan of Thailand, which is set as a fundamental notion encouraging villagers in rural areas to take action and participate in plans to improve their living conditions and that of their communities.

This study, particularly, chooses the grassroots' participation concept of the 9th National Economic and Society Plan. That provides the framework in constructing research questions and using discourse analysis to investigate the conversational content collected from exchanges among groups of officials and villagers, as well as between them.

The study finds that communication between officials and villagers seems to be fluent, even when misunderstandings arise. However, it is apparent that the barrier to effective communication between both groups is cultural.

In addition, it is noted that some villagers have started to speak up in public, more so than in the past. This is significant given that villagers feel inferior due to them having less education. Also, the village headmen and Tambon Representatives have less education, especially in relation to relevant laws and administrative regulations. It is also noteworthy that the so-called educational gap of villagers and their representatives prompts some people to take advantage of this situation, and of the people involved. In turn, this causes damage for both villagers and the state.

It is clear that grassroots participation is necessary in the community development process. However, officials do need to understand that the manner in which the villagers speak is very informal whereas, in contrast, the conversational style of officials is rather formal. Usually, this involves official and complicated terms that are not understood by villagers. As a consequence, effectiveness of the associated discourse is reduced.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The importance of Thai royalty in Thailand cannot be denied. Thailand has always had Kings at the centre of Thai society and, therefore, these people are close to love and lives of Thai citizens. In fact, ever since the country was ruled by way of an absolute monarchy, Thais feel indebted in relation to what their kings and royal families have done for them. Today, Thailand is a constitutional monarchy. The present head of the Thai royal family, King Bhumibol Adulyadej, has devoted most of his time visiting his people, especially in the vast underdeveloped, rural areas of the country, doing so to see, and hear of, the troubles and issues that his people face. As a direct result, His Majesty the King has organised projects to help rural, disadvantaged and disenfranchised people to survive. In addition, he has encouraged self-support and self-sufficiency, often through the development of royal projects that convey integrity of the community. In effect, His Majesty has carried out his royal activities and established royal projects all over the country (Office of The Royal Development Projects Board: RDPB 2003). For example, the development and preservation of water resources in watershed areas, particularly in the North of Thailand, have helped to prevent and reduce damage from floods in the lowlands, as well as assist with water storage to reduce the effects of droughts. Also, the royal projects promote well-being, such as by convincing villagers to stop opium cultivation, deforestation, slash-and-burn farming activities and logging, as well as the smuggling of illegal merchandise and weapons. Assistance and advice are also provided with respect to alternative sources of income by encouraging villagers to replace destructive activities with the cultivation of high-value rotation crops that are easy to transport, as well as promoting the cultivation of rice and the raising of animals for household consumption (Office of The Royal Development Projects Board: RDPB 2003; RDPB 2003).

1.2 The Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan

For the past 43 years, Thailand has produced five-year strategic plans. These are called National and Social Development Plans. This study takes place within the ambit of the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESD). In the early NESD plans, economic and geographical developments were considered to be a top priority. Particularly, this was because the income gap between that of the urban and rural areas was very wide, as was the opportunity for self-advancement of rural folk. The Thai government tried to address such issues by allocating funds to regional projects and rural areas in an attempt to make income more equitable between all regions of the country. However, as a consequence of the Asian economic crisis in 1997, the Thai king doubted whether Thailand would truly benefit from being called one of the economic tigers when it was, predominantly, an agricultural country. Consequently, the concept of a 'sufficiency economy' was highlighted and included in the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESD 2001).

The Ninth NESD Plan states that, over the past four decades, imbalanced development has become very evident (NESD 2001). A significant contributor to this outcome is that Thailand's economic, political and administrative management systems are almost entirely centralised and notoriously inefficient. Interestingly, although quantitative indicators of development are often achieved, the quality of life in outlying villages still lags far behind any acceptable standard. In addition, social conflict and associated tension have increased due to the widening income gap, with this resulting in increased poverty, plus further depletion of natural resources, as well as environmental deterioration. Thus, the focus of the Ninth NESD plan is on holistic and balanced development of human resources, as well as that of the economy, and Thai natural resources, doing so by involving people at all level in society. The plan also encourages Thais to apply sufficiency economy concepts in their way of life at the individual, family, and community level.

It is worth noting that sufficiency economy is a philosophical approach that stresses pursuit of a middle path, with this being the overriding principle for appropriate

conduct and way of life of the entire populace. As mentioned, this applies to conduct at the individual, family, and community levels. Nonetheless, at the national level, this philosophy is consistent with a balanced development strategy that aims to reduce the vulnerability of the nation to shocks and excesses that might arise as a result of globalisation. Sufficiency, in this context, means moderation and due consideration in all modes of conduct; it also incorporates the need for adequate protection from internal and external economic shocks. To achieve this goal, the prudent application of knowledge is essential. In particular, great care is needed in the application of appropriate theories and technical know-how, as well as in the related planning and implementation. At the same time, it is essential to strengthen the moral fibre of the nation so that everyone, from villagers to public officials, academics, business people, and financiers, adhere first and foremost to the principles of honesty and integrity. A balanced approach combining patience, perseverance, diligence, wisdom, and prudence is indispensable if Thais are to cope appropriately with critical challenges arising from extensive and rapid socio-economic, environmental, and cultural change occurring as a result of globalisation (NESD 2001).

It is noteworthy that Thais adopted Buddhism and have, thereby, been taught about taking the middle course in their lives so as to live in moderation between the two extremes of blindly ignoring practical daily affairs and, in stark contrast, laying down, and abiding by, a code of inflexible rules (Payutto 1999). It is, therefore, more than understandable that, in the Ninth NESD Plan, major emphasis is placed on the balanced development of human, social, economic and environmental resources. Furthermore, the pursuance of good governance at all levels of Thai society is underscored in order to achieve real sustainable people-centred development (NESDB 2001). Accordingly, one of the planned strategies in economic and social development is to empower the village communities so that they can serve as strong foundations of Thai society. It is for this reason that all stakeholders in community development are priority targets in relation to mobilising necessary participation. Interaction between key stakeholders, therefore, is of prime importance if the goals of the NESD plan are to be met.

1.3 The Focus of This Study

This purpose of this study is to find out how government officials and villagers in Thailand communicate with each other. Towards this end, a critical discussion of discourse theory will give support to the qualitative research methodology employed herein. Additionally, relevant literature will be discussed in Chapter Two, such as works related to the Ninth Economic and Social Development Plan (NESD 2003), the administrative structure of the Thai Government, the historical development of Thai society, and the nature of Thai society, plus communication theory and the concepts of discourse analysis.

As suggested in the previous section, the NESD Plan of the Thai government relies on crucial communication between officials and villagers due to the fact that public participation is one of the main strategies stressed in the plan. This is used as a guideline in the study of the communication between these two important groups, being officials and villagers. As such, particular attention is paid to villagers who, at the grassroots level, are the prime point of focus for national development in Thailand. This focus is because villagers need to understand the policies and targets of national development and work in close accordance with the achievement of proposed goals. Interestingly, the concept of grassroots-level inclusion is not new to Thailand. In 1975, decentralisation arose for first time when the development program of that era was initiated. Thereby, the Tambon (or sub-district) Council became the key body in deciding which projects should be undertaken in the area of its newfound responsibility. The Council designed as an intermediate institution between the surrounding district and related villagers, is comprised primarily of elected representatives from each village in the associated Tambon (Fry 1982).

The distinction of this earlier, seminal era of decentralisation is that the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan not only placed importance on public participation, but such involvement was also endorsed in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand B.E. 2540 (1997), of which Chapter V--Directive Principles of Fundamental State Policies (AsianLII 2007) states:

“Section 76. The State shall promote and encourage public participation in laying down policies, making decision on political issues, preparing economic, social and political development plans, and inspecting the exercise of State power at all levels.”

1.4 Operational Definitions

In order to assist with the understanding of the research study, this section provides particular terms and related definitions.

Discourse

In general usage, discourse means to talk, converse or express ideas orally, or as text.

In this research study, the term ***discourse*** is defined as follows:

“Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping people’s interaction with society” (Jaworski and Coupland 1999, p.3)

Discourse Analysis

This term refers to the analysis of discourse, which assumes that discourse itself reflects “both understanding and events themselves as participants concerns”

Villagers

Villagers are Thai people who live in remote areas, and out of metropolitan Bangkok.

In this research study, the participants who are villagers will be, purposively, selected from different part of Thailand.

Officials

Officials, in the context of this research study, are officials who work for the government both in urban and suburban areas.

1.5 Contribution to Knowledge

The National Economic and Social Advisory Council (NESAC, 2004) finds that one of the obvious obstacles to necessary participation by the public sector is poor communication, and a lack of adequate understanding, between the government and public sectors.

As stands to reason, the national research policy of Thailand is aligned with the NESD Plan in order to give direction to the management of economic and social research. This research involves stakeholders, such as researchers, users of research outcomes, and national policy makers (such as senior bureaucrats and the Thai government) in developing suitable research projects (TRF 2004). Thereafter, the government assigns the Thai Research Fund (TRF) to develop national research issues in order to answer questions raised by the policy makers on issues that affect the mass populace. The TRF does this by way of abiding by two conditions: first, any research proposal must emphasise the associated process and systematic development; second, any research project must invite and involve relevant stakeholders and resources in order to create effective and productive networking (TRF 2004). Accordingly, the main characteristic of national research policy in Thailand is an integrated research plan.

In comparison to the preceding process, it is noteworthy that the research underpinning this thesis was carried out quite separately from that of the Thai national research plan, and it was also undertaken without any support from the government. As such, this independence provides the opportunity to pursue research methodologies that are not commonly used in Thailand. Additionally, the research outcome presented herein provides an independent view. Specifically, this study will specifically address ‘within’ and ‘between’ villager/official discourse relationships and, thereby, contribute to the related body of knowledge, doing so without any public sector influences that could have affected results if the research were conducted under the ambit of the TRF. Further, note that this research falls within the scholarly remit of the Graduate School of Business at Curtin University, which views relations between governments and the population as an organisational issue.

1.6 Research Question

To date, only quantitative media studies have examined the national problem of communication between officials and villagers (Schoem 2003). To complement such studies, a qualitative ‘officials and villagers’ study will explore the following research question:

What are the communication practices of Thai government officials and villagers?

1.7 Research Objectives

The objectives related to the aforementioned research question are:

1. To conduct preliminary field work in order to define the research procedures;
2. To discover the prevalent discourse of Thai villagers;
3. To discover the prevalent discourse of Thai officials; and,
4. To compare discourse practices of Thai villagers and officials, with this culminating in a discussion of possible barriers and opportunities to improve mutual understanding.

1.8 The Research Context

Research conducted by the National Economic and Social Advisory Council (NESAC, 2004) found strong evidence of a communication problem that existed between the government and people, with this indicating that there is less participation in solving public problems than is generally expected. Yet, no details of this communication problem are given, such as any underlying reasons. Kaewthep et al. (1999) also found that the studies dealing with communication that was related directly to community development in Thailand were mostly quantitative and tautological. It is worth noting that Sirisaiya (2004) emphasises the oral tradition in which Thais value face-to-face relationships. Government officials, therefore, may take this opportunity to familiarise themselves with locals, such as villagers, to gain their participation and cooperativeness.

Additionally, Thailand has its own form of speaking and writing of language. Even so, each part of Thailand still has different dialects, plus gaps in education. All of this leads to a significant lack of opportunity for advancement for most people. That Thais have many dialects, however, does not mean that they are totally incomprehensible. One can, in effect, guess what people are trying to communicate, even when the pace of speech can vary, too. For instance, in the southern provinces of Thailand, not only is there a specific dialect, but the people there also speak faster, with this making it difficult for outsiders to follow what they say. Nevertheless, the cultural gap in Thailand is not a huge issue, although interpersonal obstacles can arise due to differences fomented by political unrest.

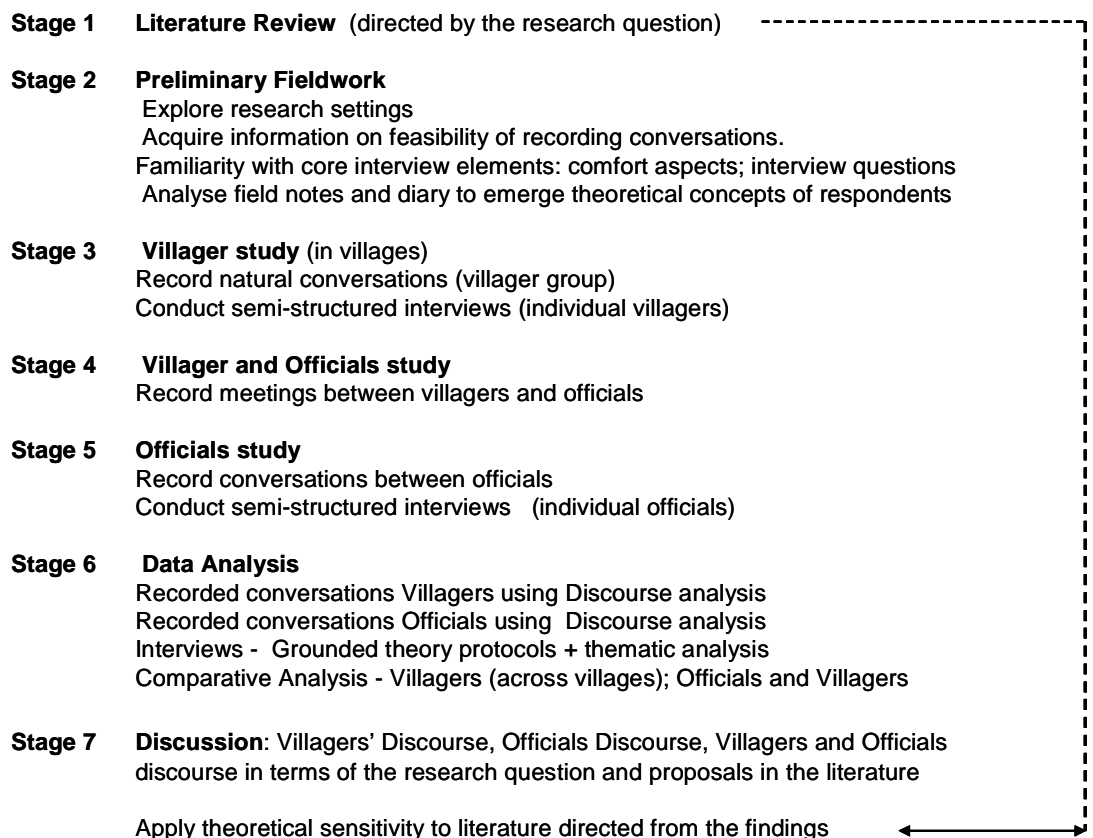
Despite various intra-national differences, it is noteworthy that government officials from central Thailand do not share the same background with locals in outer-lying and rural areas unless such officials stay in those local areas long enough. For example, consider a government official who is born in a local province, such as of the northern part of Thailand, then is educated elsewhere, and even studied abroad. After that person returns and serves the country as a government official, they may be able to speak the same local dialect, but they may not be assured that locals will see that they share the same background. In this regard, consider that the central government makes decision about the promotion, and the transferring, of government officials. For this reason, local officials may be transferred to new areas and, therefore, will find that they work in a different cultural context. Even so, such officials sometimes have the chance to visit a village in their jurisdiction, either on duty or by invitation from the locals, to participate in various ceremonies and to give opening speeches. Nevertheless, it will still be quite rare for any so-called imported or returned official to have close personal contact with local villagers, or their top officials.

1.9 Research Design

“The purpose of the research design is to provide the logical sequence that connects the field data to the study’s initial research question and ultimately its conclusion. This means that the rationale for the research must follow a plausible pattern and the sequencing must do the same. The key word here is ‘connect’. Each part of the study connects the other part to the research question” (Whiteley, 2002, p.3).

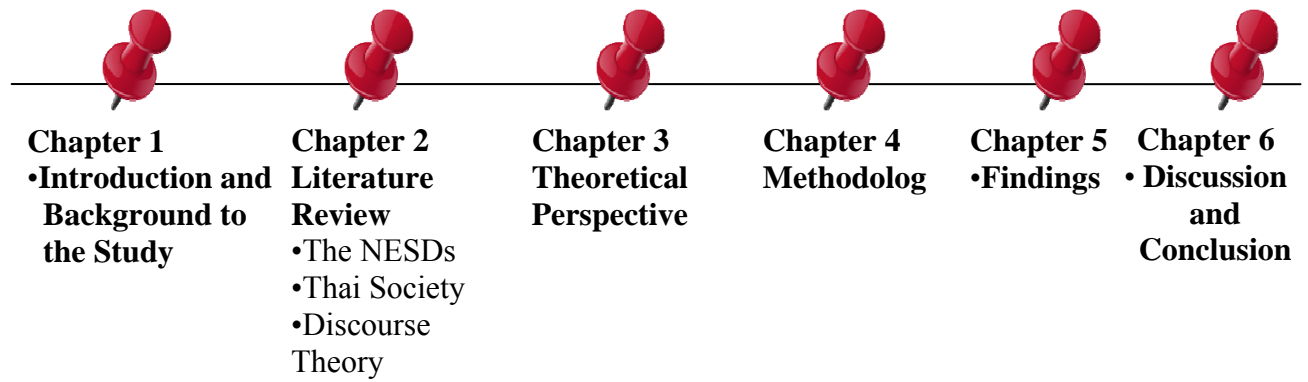
This logical sequence, illustrating connections in this study, is modelled in Figure 1.1 below:

Figure 1.1 The Research Design



1.10 Thesis Plan

The plan for the presentation of this thesis is summarized below:



Chapter 2

Literature Review

In this literature review the background reading is presented under the following sub-headings:

- 2.1 Background of the National Economic and Social Development Plans (NESD);
- 2.2 The Administrative Structure of The Thai Government;
- 2.3 The Historical Development of Thai Society;
- 2.4 The Nature of Thai Society; and,
- 2.5 Communication Theory and the Concepts of Discourse Analysis.

2.1 Background of the National Economic and Social Development Plans

The National Economic and Society Development Board (NESDB) was organized first in 1950 responsible for composing the five-year National Economic and Society Development plan by including ideas from all stakeholders nationwide. At the time this study has been conducted, Thailand has already had the 9th NESD plans. The following is to portray the 8th NESD plans the focuses. The 9th NESD plan will be elaborated in the next section.

2.1.1 The Focuses of the National Economic and Society Development Plans

The NESD Plans	Focuses of the Plans
The 1 st NESD plan (1961-1966)	to expand of the economy by increasing the efficiency in both service sector and agricultural sector and also promote the investment in industrial sector.
The 2 nd NESD plan (1967-1971)	continuing to the 1st plan promoting the industrial investment while maintain the economic balance, developing of workforce capabilities, investing in regional and rural parts, and also focused on the transportation development.

The NESD Plans

Focuses of the Plans

The 3rd NESD plan (1972-1976)

to begin the congruence of economic development as a whole, to set up policy in distribution of income and provide equal chance to all Thais to receive public service.

The 4th NESD plan (1977-1981)

to accelerate economic recovery; to reduce income disparities; to improve the management of basic resources and rehabilitate environmental conditions; to strengthen national security management.

The 5th NESD plan (1982-1986)

due to the slowdown of world economy the plan focused on regaining the economic structure and maintaining balance.

The 6th NESD plan (1987-1991)

main issue of the plan was to raise the level of national development, increasing of employment in appropriate distribution of income.

The 7th NESD plan (1992-1986)

set out three main objectives; first, to maintain economic growth rates at appropriate levels to ensure sustainability and stability; second, redistributed income and decentralised development t the regions and rural areas more widely; and third, accelerated the development of human resources, and upgrading quality of life the environment and natural resource management.

The 8th NESD plan (1997-2001)

to foster and develop the potentials of all Thais, in terms of health, physical well-being, intellect, vocational skills and ability to adapt to changing social and economic conditions; to develop a stable society, strengthen family and community, support human development, improve quality of life and promote increasing community participation in national development; t promote stable and sustainable economic growth, and to empower the people to play a greater role in the development process and receive a fair share of the benefits of growth.

In Chapter 1, the importance of the ninth NESD plan was stressed. This section of the literature review records how the NESD plan came into being, and also highlights parts of the plan that are relevant to this study.

The NESD plan is organised and advised by the committees selected by the National Economic and Social Council as is designated in Section 89 of the Constitution of The Kingdom of Thailand (Constitution 1997), as follows:

***Section 89.** For the purpose of the implementation of this Chapter, the State shall establish the National Economic and Social Council to be charged with the duty to give advice and recommendations to the Council of Ministers on economic and social problems.*

A national economic and social development plan and other plans as provided by law shall obtain opinions of the National Economic and Social Council before they can be adopted and published. The composition, source, powers and duties and the operation of the National Economic and Social Council shall be in accordance with the provision of law.

(Constitution 1997)

After any NESD plan is completed, the related government submits it to the King for his consent and signature. The associated Announcement of Royal Command is appended as the first page of the NESD plan, which the Prime Minister countersigns. The Announcement of Royal Command takes the following form:

His Majesty King Bhumibol Adulyadej has commanded:

The Cabinet, having considered the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan (B.E. 2545-2549), which was prepared with the involvement of Thai people from all walks of life, from every province and region of the country, and was submitted to the national Economic and Social Advisory Council for the consideration under Article 89 of the constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, has decided that this Plan should be implemented as a national guidelines for economic and social development policies. A summary of the main elements of the Plan is annexed to this announcement.

(NESDB 2001)

2.1.2 Relevant Highlights from the 9th Economic and Social Development Plan.

The following summary paragraphs appear in the 9th NESD document (NESDB 2001) and demonstrate the importance of effective communication in relation to the achievement of the NESD plan. It is stated in the 9th.NESD that it was formulated “on the basis of a shared vision of Thai society for the next 20 years” and that it was that promotes “a new national management system” (NESDB 2001).

The guiding principles of national development and management are stated as being:

1. The philosophy of the ‘Sufficiency economy’;
2. A “National Development Vision” in which cultural identity, together with religious principles and the monarchy, increase Thailand’s resilience under the conditions of rapid change and uncertainty associated with globalisation; and,
3. A vision of Thai society characterised by a distinct cultural identity based upon values.

The objectives of the 9th.NESD are stated as follows:

1. To promote economic stability and sustainability;
2. The establishment of a strong national development foundation to better able Thai people to meet the challenges arising from globalisation;
3. The establishment of good governance at all levels of the Thai society; and,
4. Reduction of poverty and empowerment of Thai people.

Economic and Social Development Strategies

- “Thai identity is to be strengthened based on revitalization of Thai cultural heritage and local wisdom. Support to development of religious and mass media personnel is to be emphasised”;

- Restructuring of management for sustainable rural and urban development [this means keeping people in the villages]; and,
- Management of integrated area-function-participation (AFP) development. Capacity building is needed to equip local administrative organisations with trained people and effective management systems in order to facilitate decentralisation.

(NESDB 2001)

2.1.3 The 10th National Economic and Social Development Plan (2007-2011)

Since the start of work undertaken, and reported, in this thesis the 10th National Economy and Social Development Plan was published. Thailand was faced with several changing contexts that are both beneficial and disadvantageous. It is noticeable that the 8th plan and the 10th plan focus on “Human Centre Development” while highlight of the 9th plan was “Sufficiency Philosophy”. However, 10th NESD plan advocates that people and system development have immunity from change and effects that might have happened. Nevertheless, “Sufficiency Philosophy” from the 9th plan, and “Human Centre Development” from the 8th plan, are integrated in the 10th plan. All sectors of the Thai economy are expected to unify and should be involved in conducting the plan and achieving its goals. Network building is encouraged in driving strategic development, doing so in conjunction with monitoring and evaluating progress of the plan

It is noteworthy that the intention of the Thai government is to improve the administrative structure, as well as decentralise budgets and authority to the local administrative. The related objective is to encourage local participation as per stated obligations of the government in the Constitution B.E. 2540, as per the following:

CONSTITUTION OF THE KINGDOM OF THAILAND B.E. 2540

Chapter V

Directive Principles of Fundamental State Policies

Section 76. The State shall promote and encourage public participation in laying down policies, making decision on political issues, preparing economic, social and political development plans, and inspecting the exercise of State power at all levels.

Directive Principles of Public Participation Policies

Article 87. The State shall implement the Public Participation Policy as follows:

- (1) To encourage people to participate in forming socioeconomic development policies and plans at both local and national levels;
- (2) To promote and support public participation in the process of making political decision, formulation of plan for socio-economic development and provision of public services;
- (3) To promote and support public participation in examining the use of State power at all levels either in the form of various professional or occupational organisation or other forms;
- (4) To promote people's political strength, and to provide law on fund for people's political development to provide assistance to community public activities and to support the activities of people's groups in all forms of networking to allow them to express their views and needs of communities in each area; and
- (5) To promote and give education to the people on political development and the democratic form of government with the King as Head of the State and to encourage the people to exercise their voting right with honesty and fairness

The participation of people under this Article shall consider the approximate proportion in number between man and woman. (The Secretariat Senate of Thailand 2006)

As to the obligations stated in the constitution and the national plan, the government realised that to have having competent government officials as well as the decentralisation of authority and budget to the local administration, it was necessary to encourage local participation. Hence, decentralisation and the administrative structure are set out in the following section.

2.1.4 Decentralisation

Under the country's existing administrative structure, authority is delegated from the capital to a region, and then to local areas. In general, development policy and planning in Thailand is a combination of top-down and bottom-up approaches, while the public administration system of the country is highly centralised.

Thailand has gradually strengthened the capacity of local government. During the 5th and 6th National Plans, local governments played a greater role in setting development priorities. Nevertheless, the proposed development plan still had to be agreed upon, and the associated budgets had to be approved by the central government.

To further enhance the role of local governments and local development efficiency, the 7th and 8th NESD Plans called for decentralisation of fiscal authority and asset holding, with these seen as important mechanisms to help strengthen local administrative capacity.

With the structure and management system of local governments put in place by the end of the 8th NESD Plan, the 9th NESD Plan will concentrate upon improving the development capability of local administrations. Accordingly, development plans will integrate all aspects; plus, monitoring systems will be enhanced, and information systems upgraded, and the capability of human resources increased.

2.2 The administrative structure of the Thai government

2.2.1 Thai Public Administration

Until 1991, the National Public Administration Act was promulgated to provide three basic levels of public administration in Thailand. Specifically, these are: central, provincial, and local administration. Each of these aspects are summarised below.

2.2.2 Central Administration

The central administration falls under the basic concept of centralisation and consists of 15 ministries. Various departments, offices, bureaus, divisions and subdivisions are established in each ministry.

2.2.3 Provincial Administration

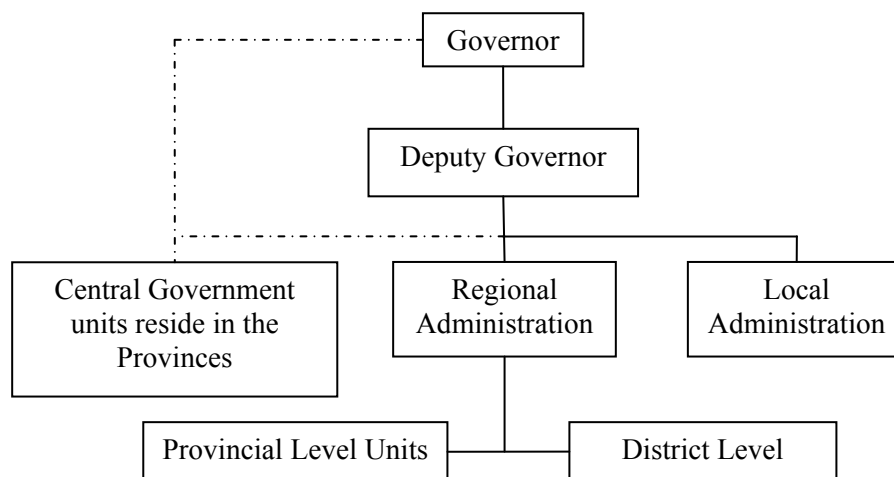
This form of administration comes under the concept of decentralisation, which means that the central government delegates some of its power and authority to its officers who work in provinces and districts. These officers are from various ministries and departments and carry out their work according to laws and regulations assigned by the central government. As at February 2001, the provincial administration consists of 75 provinces (excluding Bangkok), 795 districts, 81 minor districts, 7,255 sub districts (or Tambons) and 70,865 villages.

2.2.4 Local Administration

Local Administration in Thailand is also based upon the concept of decentralisation, which allows local people to participate in local affairs under concerned laws and regulations. At present, there are 2 types of local administrative organisation in Thailand. The general type, which exists in every province, is composed of: 1) a Provincial Administration Organisation, that covers all areas in the province, 2) Municipalities, which are urban areas with a known population and level of development; and 3) a Sub-district Administration Organisation, the jurisdiction of which is the area outside the boundaries of municipalities. In addition, there are also two special forms of local government: 1) the Bangkok Metropolitan Administration; and 2) the City of Pattaya.

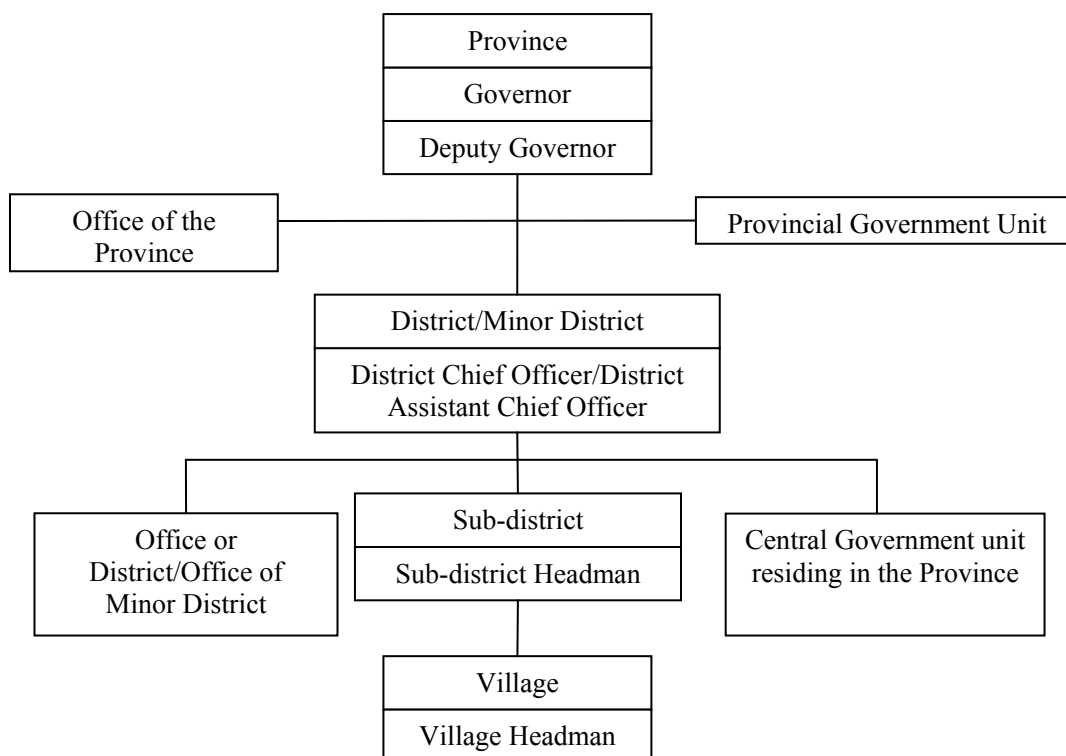
The administrative structure with the responsibility to implement the 9th NESD plan is set out in Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 below.

Figure 2.1 Official Administrative Structure of Region and Local Government



(Local Administration Act (LAA) 2004, 1994)

Figure 2.2 Official Administrative Structure of Province, District, Sub-district, Tambon and Village



(Local Administration Act (LAA) 2004, 1994)

2.3 The Historical Development of Thai Society

To have more understanding how the Thai administration had been developed to the present day, this section portrays the historical administration in relation of the kingship and the influence of Buddhism to administration and Thai society.

The history of Thailand is colourful and impressive. In contrast to the history of other nations, it has a unique characteristic that is highlighted by the role played by the King throughout. A summary of the literature which follows, briefly describes this role over the centuries. The inter-twining of the King, Buddhist belief and Thai people had, and still has, a profound influence on the government of the day and also on most Thai citizens. From the outset, it is noteworthy that the Thai national flag is symbolic. It has three colours: red represents the nation, White represents religion, and blue represents the King. All of these three significant factors influence people and their way of life, as well as being the main symbols of Thai culture and values. In effect, this interplay and related circumstance is at the heart of any communication between officials and villagers. The ramifications for Thai-based research, of this unique and cultural situation, are discussed below.

Thai society has a strong sense of demonstrated stability reaching back over 800 years, being something that occasional political strife has failed to shake. The historian Onozawa (2002) studied the labour force in Thai social history over four period of time starting with the Sukhothai period, and then also focussing upon the Ayuthaya period, as well as the two periods known as early- and late-Bangkok. His study describes the layers of society in each period of time, and how stories in different periods have influenced changes in social status and have also affected the Thai people. A brief summary of these periods appears below.

2.3.1 Sukhothai period (1238-1349)

The Sukhothai period is known as a time of paternalistic government. The king was like a father to his people, being both their leader in war, and chief judge. Originally, animism was the main belief system of the people in this era. But, by this time, the widely held beliefs of this peaceful society were Buddhist.

2.3.2 Ayuthaya period (1350-1767)

Compared to Sukhothai era, the Ayuthaya period was in a more advanced mode of economic development, and was better organised in terms of administrative systems. Also, the Ayuthaya period was distinctive from the Sukhothai period in relation to four major characteristics: kingship, the administrative system, social classes and the manpower controlling system, each of which are considered in turn below. In this period, it is noteworthy that land was plentiful in Thailand while the manpower was lacking.

2.3.2.1 Kingship

The influence of the sophisticated Khmer kingdom and Brahmanism was spreading over Southeast Asia during Ayuthaya period, when Thais accepted the concept of divine kingship. The king was, in effect, regarded as the reincarnation of a celestial god (Wales 1965, p.56). While the king was accepted as Bodhisattva, or a Hindu god, he was expected to play some roles considered to be in accordance with proper virtues of the king; this was called “Thosaphit Rajatham”. The ideal monarch, therefore, was described as a King of Righteousness, elected by the people and abiding steadfast in line with ten kingly virtues. (Rabibhadana 1969, p.44)

In the period of Ayuthaya, the kings, monks, and commoners depended upon one another and cooperated. Kaset Siri (1976) states that one major task of Ayuthaya kings was to construct Buddhist temples, and some monks were assigned to be there, along with a group of people known as Kha-Phra, or temple slaves, who resided nearby. Some arable land was given to these people in exchange for their service to the kings. As a consequence, many temples were built by a community by this type of labour that lived in the vicinity of the city that was called Ayuthaya. (Rabibhadana, 1969, p. 41).

2.3.2.2 The Administrative System

According to Onozawa (2002), during the 417 years that constituted the Ayuthaya period, the administrative system was frequently changed due to political conflict. Violent struggles for the throne were regular phenomena inside the Ayuthaya court. This brought the administration of Ayuthaya under the principle of divide and rule. The military and civil sections, with their own chief ministers, were completely separated in order to create a balance of power, and to prevent high ranking officials from having private contact with each other (Rabibhadana 1969, p.19). It could be said that the lack of unity, in terms of administration, was one reason that led to serious defeat of Ayuthaya by the Burmese army in 1569 and 1767.

2.3.2.3 Social Structure

With the Thai kingdom busy protecting itself, and trying to acquire neighbouring countries and cities, there was a continuous state of war during the Ayuthaya period. The winner of any war usually brought a mass of people back home, and these people became the manpower that contributed towards the growth of monarchical power and the rapid mobilization of the workforce. (Rabibhadana 1969, p.17).

- **Royal families (Chao)**

Onozawa (2002) indicates that people constituting more than the fifth generation of a king's descendants would become commoners because there were only five major ranks of royalty and the royal titles dropped one rank with each succeeding generation. However, usually, any such members of the royal family would be given a title, or gained one when married to someone of royal or noble class.

- **Nobles and high officials (Khunnang)**

Khunnang were the high-ranked officials, and their titles were given specifically to persons for reasons of administrative service. But, these titles were not hereditary. The nobles might send their daughters to

become wives of a king to make valuable relationships. In some case, these wives could be considered both as agents of their families, and also as hostages, thereby ensuring their loyalty and obedience (Onozawa 2002).

- **Commoners (Phrai)**

The phrai, or the so-called “free-men”, comprised the major workforce that was under an obligation to undertake so-called *corvee* labor for the king. This meant attending to the king’s affairs, as is called “tam ratchakarn” in Thai. This class of people will be clearly explained later in the manpower controlling system.

- **Slaves (Thaat)**

Onozawa (2002) notes that slavery in Thailand is understood to have begun in the latter part of the Sukhothai period. However, the concept of a slave or serf is quite different in this time compared to that of Europe. In effect, slavery was practiced throughout the Ayuthaya period and continued into the Early Bangkok period, and was not abolished until 1874 in the reign of Rama V, with the *corvee* labour system continuing until 1899. According to the Law on Slavery, there are seven kinds of slaves. Basically, two main types were the redeemable slaves and the interest bearing slaves. They were debt and bond slaves. According to the principle upon which the law on slavery operated, a man had ownership of himself, his wife and his children. Thus, he was legally entitled to sell himself, his wife and his children to another person (Rabibhadana 1969, p.105). In general, Thai law considered a slave as both a legal object and a legal subject. As a legal object, a slave could be sold and his services leased. As a legal subject, the slave was allowed to own property, inherit property, enter into a contract, and have access to the court of justice. Thus, a slave had the right to redeem himself (Rabibhadana 1969, p.105). Also, the duty of the slave was to serve his owner. There was no law to determine how many slaves one could own. The nobles, and well-to-do commoners, could own as many slaves as they were able to afford. It can be said that

Thai society before the reformation of Rama V, benefited from production that was mainly based on the work of the classes of commoners and slaves.

- **Sakdina (Power of Field)**

The amount of land and workforce in control of an individual were clear symbols of the social status. Wales (1965, p.45) explains about Sakdina as followed:

“Another characteristic of Thai society in this period was that the status of people were clearly determined by the precisely amount of sakdina which everybody held. The word sakdina literally means power (sakdi) of field (na). Phrai or commoner held sakdina of 25 rai (1 acre=2.5 rai), which legally means that each man was allowed to cultivate the land only as much as he and his family could cultivate, at most 25 rai. In return for being allowed to make their living from cultivating the land that they occupied, they were obliged to deliver a portion of their produce to their lord, and some of which he himself was obliged to deliver up to his superior lord or to the prince (nai).”

2.3.2.4 King Taksin (1767-1782)

The royal, and capital, city of Ayuthaya was defeated by the Burmese in 1767. Phraya Taksin and his men fought back and recaptured the capital at Thonburi on the west bank of what is now referred to as the Chao Phraya River, and he declared himself to be the King of Siam. It took 15 years for King Taksin to unite the six extant Thai states into Siam. Each state was independently created and they often fought with each other. It is noteworthy that scholars, craftsmen, and other specialists became scarce since not very many survived the great war of Ayuthaya. At this time, famine and civil war in China caused many Chinese people to migrate to other countries, including Thailand. As a result, many of the Chinese migrants became important for supplementing the manpower requirements of the Thai kingdom. Still, disquiet continued and, in 1782, King Taksin was executed and Chao

Phraya Chakkri declared himself to be King Rama I, and the Chakkri Dynasty had begun.

2.3.3 Early Bangkok Period – Rama I to Rama IV (1767-1868)

King Rama I's tasks were to improve the legal system, purify and reorganize the Buddhist hierarchy, give the monks discipline in order to maintain their standards and respect, and to restore Bangkok (Sayamananda 1973, p.105). The feudalism that was very apparent in the Ayuthaya period continued in the Early Bangkok period. Rama I focused on international trade of agricultural products, which led to the labour force being allowed to work with their masters for only four months per year, instead of six months, as was required earlier. As a result, the workforce spent more time in the field to produce more agricultural products. In addition, Chinese labourers were hired to allow the Thai workforce to work on the construction of irrigation project during the reign of Rama II. The Chinese labourers were more efficient and cost less than the Thai workers, so much so that the Thai workers were ultimately replaced and went back to work in the field (Ramagomut 1976, p.2).

The Chinese migrants were diligent and, they were in all kinds of jobs; but, commerce seemed to be their primary interest. After some time, with the king's permission, tax collectors were monopolized and this revenue raising was entrusted to Chinese Traders. Interestingly, tax collectors were considered to be equivalent to public officials with the Sakdina, or land ownership, of 400 rai and, therefore, they naturally became Thai citizens. During this period, commoners like the Chinese, depended upon their own abilities to manage their living and social opportunities. Consequently, improved social status was accepted by the Chinese and this opened up for them higher official positions, even as high as that of a town governor.

2.3.4 Late Bangkok Period (1868-1932)

By 1870, the colonialism of European countries was starting to become a threat to Siam (Thailand). The neighbouring countries, such as Burma, and Malaya in the west

and south of Thailand, were conquered by Great Britain. In the east and west of Thailand, France had colonised Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

In 1855, Rama IV signed the Bowring Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Great Britain. The Treaty completely eliminated the prospect of heavy royal taxes and allowed foreigners to trade freely in Thailand, and to live and own property in Bangkok. As a consequence, the Thai king's revenue was seriously depleted. Also, middlemen, who were mostly Chinese, became prominent. Inevitably, the Treaty pushed Thailand into the world economy. King Rama V had taken into account the threatening situation that the country faced, especially from Great Britain, and finally ordered the modernisation of infrastructure, such as, railways, roads, and canals, as well as the telegraphic system, and electricity generating plants.

In 1874, the king started to abolish slavery which was achieved by 1905. Since *corvee* labour and slavery were exempted, every Thai citizen was obliged to pay capitation tax.

As already suggested, during this time, Thailand was surrounded by western colonial forces, especially in the north and south provinces where extensive mining and forestry occurred. Therefore, commissioners and some military personnel were appointed to forestall foreign intervention and to protect Thai resources.

Transportation and an effective communication network were crucial for the efficacy of a centralised administration. Several large-scale projects were first introduced to Thailand at this time and these were expensive. Consequently, financial management, budgeting and auditing started, too. Also, the king's personal expenditures were separated from the government's expenditure in 1892, and the country's finances became systemised after financial restructuring. In addition, the king continued to strengthen the army and also accepted Western technology. As a result, a European-styled military school was founded to train professional soldiers, forming what today is the National Military Academy.

Earlier, education was confined to the aristocracy and the clergy. King Rama V opened a school in the Palace and also provided schools for the commoners. Thai

education was stimulated by Western missionaries so that Western models were adopted, as were based on and influenced especially by British advisers (Moerman, 1964). In order to have well-trained persons in official positions, the king founded high-level schools to educate Thais by way of providing modern knowledge and technology for everyone. Also, scholarships were offered to students to continue higher education abroad.

Onozawa (2002) believes that even though changes were started at the higher social level, and forced down to the lower level, it still did not make changes in structure or in relation to the commoner level. The rural community level continued their rather rustic and agrarian way of life, while significant change was most obvious in the upper class in Bangkok.

Due, in part to royal scholarships, as well as Western influences and upper-class capabilities, some young men, educated in Western countries, formed a new elite group among the officials who later overthrew the absolute monarchy on June 24, 1932 (Thai Airways International Public Co. 2002; Onozawa 2002; Moerman 1964). King Rama VII was forced to sign a Constitution to form a new government to rule the country in line with an ideology of constitutional democracy. Onozawa (2002) points out that there were only small changes in the social structure of the ruling class during the first few decades of the 20th century. Even so, well-educated commoners acquired political power, while a new middle class formed that contained people who were modern and educated and able to support the new elites.

2.3.5 A modern monarchy - Rama IX

Thailand changed from having an absolute monarchy to being a constitutional monarchy as the role of the king changed, especially after the Bowring Treaty was signed and opened the country to international trade. Modernisation and reformation were implemented in infrastructure, communication, and education in order to compete with more developed countries. These changes affected the social structure of Thai society. The ruling class, formerly powerful, was replaced by well-educated commoners (Onozawa 2002). The role of the present Thai ruler, King Bhumipol

Adulyadej (also known as King Rama IX), is different from that of earlier kings of the Chakkri Dynasty. The challenging situation, both internationally and domestically, also influences how the current king exercises his power. Today, the king would rather focus on the plight of the common people.

King Bhumipol, therefore, devotes his time to visiting and helping poor people in remote areas of the country. There are, for instance, over 1,000 royal projects, such as dealing with the introduction of new crops, water conservation, swamp drainage and preservation of national forests. The king, together with other members of the royal family, has managed to visit his people who reside in remote areas of 76 provinces in Thailand, doing so to consult on issues that trouble them. The devotion of the king to his people is impressive and Thai people, in return, consider the monarchy to be a large and important part of their life. In effect, the king is not merely a symbolic figure, reigning from a distant capital. Pictures of the king and the royal family are displayed in homes, and business establishments, all over the country and are, thus, signs of deep affection, as well as considerable reverence for an important social and regal institution.

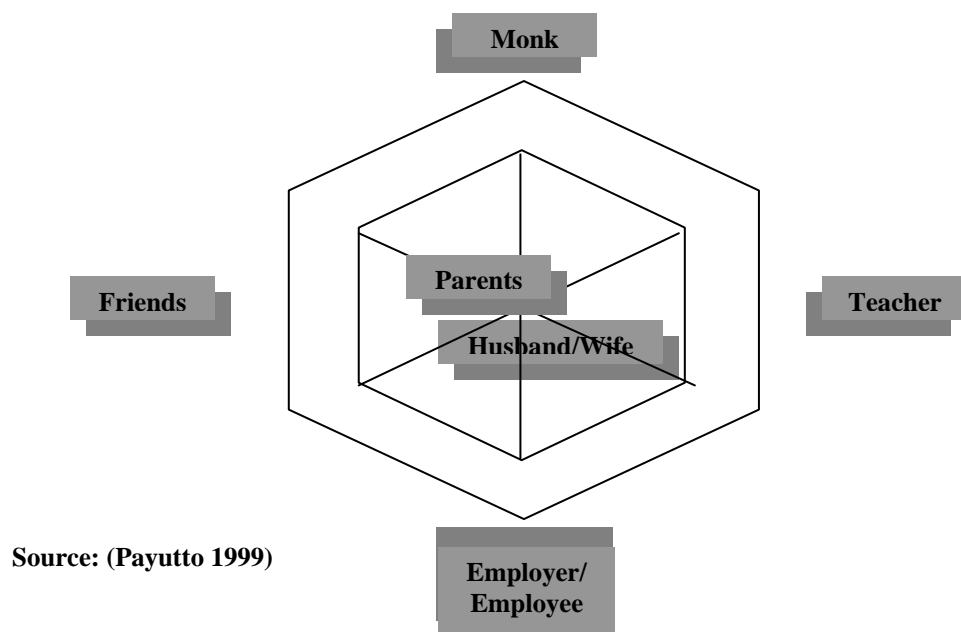
It has been accepted for over 1,000 years that the kings of Siam had absolute power, even though their exercise of royal power may have differed. Even so, the kings have never been used to suppress, or take advantage of, the Thai people. The kings do not exercise their royal power through force or weapons, but rely on the *Dharma* of the Lord Buddha to look after the welfare of the Thai people (Rujanaseri 2005). Rujanaseri (2005) also refers to the Constitution in which the King's status can be defined by five important roles: he is the Head of State; he is a symbol of respect and worship; he can do no wrong; he is the defender of the Buddhist faith; and, he is the head of the Royal Army, Royal Air Force and Royal Navy. As Head of State, the King has a duty and obligation to look after the well-being of his subjects. His relationship with his subjects, therefore, is very close.

2.3.6 Buddhism

The very close relationship between the kings and Buddhism is a part of the history of Thailand and its people. Kings are the role model and, thus, they influence Thais in several ways. For instance, in the period of King Rama V, he introduced modernisation and reformation by founding schools, universities, the military school and the education system. Kings have practised the virtues of Buddhism; plus, the Buddhist religion is always under royal patronage. The common folk of Thailand also adopt Buddhism in living their lives with 94% of Thais claiming Buddhism as their religion.

Thais have been taught and raised that they have duties to others and society as is according to Payutto (1999), who is a famous and well-educated monk, who discusses the interaction of people and society, people and life, people and people, as well as people and the Buddhist way. Payutto (1999) gave an illustration about a Thai person maintaining relations in six directions, as is summarised in Figure 2.3 below:

Figure 2.3 The Six Directions



It is known that people are interdependent. The six groups have important influences on one another. Especially, parents, monks, and teachers as these groups are fundamental to Thai society because they raise, direct, and teach the young to be

good people for the benefit of society. However, the six directions are linked to one's whole life. The six directions are adopted and parents are the people who raise a child until he or she becomes independent. Also, teachers provide instruction and knowledge about life and career choices. Plus, monks point out the way to happiness, prosperity, and the way to avoid evil. Thereby, the concept of the six directions is that one is expected to act upon others as shown in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 The Six Directions Explained

First direction: Forward direction	
As Parents to Children	As Children to Parents
Nurture and train them, provide goodness, and provide an education.	Look after parents in return, help them in their business and work, conduct oneself as is proper for an heir.
Second direction: Right direction	
As a Student to Teacher	As a Teacher to Student
Shows respect to the teacher, approaches the teacher to attend to him or her, ask for advices from the teacher.	Teaches and trains students to be good, guides them to help them in attaining a thorough understanding.
Third direction: Rearward direction	
As a Husband to Wife	As a Wife to Husband
Honours her in accordance with her status as a wife, and does not disparage her.	Keeps the household tidy, helps relations and friends of both sides of the matrimonial relationship, and safeguards any wealth that has been acquired.
Fourth direction: Left direction	
As a Friend	Friend reciprocates by
One shares with them, speaks kindly to them, and is faithful and sincere.	Do not desert friends in times of need.

Fifth direction: Lower direction	
As an Employer	As an Employee
Assigns employees work in accordance to their strength, sex, age, and ability. Pays them wages commensurate with their work and provides what is adequate for their livelihood.	Starts working before an employer arrives but stops after an employer has left. Always improve their performance.
Sixth direction: Upper direction	
As a Monk	As a Buddhist
Encourages lay people in terms of pursuing goodness with kind intention, teaches them the way to happiness and prosperity, and helps to protect them from evil actions.	Acts, speaks, and thinks inline with monks' teachings, and supports them with goodwill and with the four requisites (food, robes, shelter, and medicine)

Thais adopt the Six Directions in their daily practice when dealing with others and society, as well as when regarding themselves and others, in addition to social status. An obvious practice for the Thais for adopting the Six Directions is in the language they speak, specifically how they speak with others.

Different pronouns (there are at least 47, including 17 forms of I and 19 forms of you) and various qualifying nouns and verbs are used by different classes in Thai society, such as royalty, ecclesiastics and lay people. Because the Thai pronominal structure illustrates rank and intimacy, in effect, there are four different languages operating in Thailand, being a royal language, an ecclesiastical (priestly) language, a polite so-called everyday vernacular (language/dialect) and an earthy, slang.

Illustrations of this wide variation of the verb to 'eat', is presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Variation of words usage when associated with social status

Royal language “Rachasap”	Sawuy
Ecclesiastic (monk) language	Chan
Lay people language - formal - everyday polite usage - colloquial form	Rappratan Tan Kin

(Thai Airways International Public Co. Ltd. 2002)

2.3.7 The Significance of the Thai Concept of Nationhood in Relation to Communication between Officials and Villagers

From 1855, when Thailand was opened to foreigners and modernisation became public policy, the creation of a state bureaucracy had begun. In relation to this time in Thai history, Meyer and Rowan (1977, p.342) refer to “discussions of the historical emergence of bureaucracies as consequences of economic markets and centralised states”. They also state that a “rational formal structure is assumed to be the most effective way to coordinate and control complex relational networks involved in modern technical and work activities”. Still, Thailand was already a country with a rigid social structure. Thus, to liberally adapt the aforementioned assertions of Mayer and Rowan (1977) this implies that social processes, obligations and the actuality of belief (regarding the King and Buddhism) in Thailand came to take on a rule-like status in the social thought and action of the country. Such rules, it seems, were taken for granted, were supported by public opinion, and some had the force of law.

The importance of understanding this historical development is that formal structures (such as the NESD plans discussed previously) dramatically reflect myths associated with the Thai institutional environment. It is, in effect, worth returning to that part of the 9th.NESD document that addresses change, as follows:

2.3.8 Change Management for Translation of the Plan

The Ninth Plan advocates a new development paradigm, one that is based on new ways of thinking and working. This paradigm will create networked and coordinated

actions to make the Ninth Plan strategies a reality. The proposed approach consists of the following:

Promotion of participation by key stakeholders, especially local people, at the inception of development projects to reduce social conflicts. At the same time, monitoring and evaluation mechanisms that are based on a hierarchy of indicators and data bases as are needed to track performance.

Mayer and Rowan (1977, p.341) indicate a potential problem with such a proposed implementation. Particularly:

“Organisations whose structures become isomorphic [meaning being of identical or similar form] with the myths of the institutional environment - in contrast with those primarily structured by the demands of technical production and exchange - decrease internal coordination and control in order to maintain legitimacy. Structures are decoupled from each other and from ongoing activities. In place of coordination, inspection, and evaluation, a logic of confidence and good faith is employed.”

It is beyond the scope of the research project captured by this thesis to consider whether this new Ninth Plan development program will work. It is also outside the scope of this research project to examine inconsistencies between the myth of social change, which the Ninth NESD plan represents, and the reality of the rigid hierarchy in villages which sociologists, such as Mulder (2000), record. But, it is central to this research project to study the discourse between officials and villagers for the purpose of identifying barriers and enablers for the successful communication of policies formulated and promulgated by the NESD.

This issue will be revisited in the final chapter to consider whether the research undertaken and presented herein shows evidence of decoupling, such as local activities being carried out without the knowledge of officials, or if tracking of performance advocated by the Ninth NESD plan is neglected.

2.3.9 Thai Bureaucracy

The relationship between villagers and their government officials is encapsulated by the following quotation:

“Traditionally the Thai public service has been an exceedingly prestigious occupation. Over the years, the civil service has absorbed almost all college-educated Thai. In recent years its public esteem apparently has declined somewhat, but positions in the government, particularly at upper levels, continue to confer great prestige and high social status. While an increasing number of graduates of ability now find opportunities in private employment, the great majority of college students still aspire to careers in the civil service” (Shor 1960).

2.4 The Nature of Thai Society

Mulder, an independent anthropologist who had lived and worked in Thailand for thirty years, noticed that the villagers are a majority of total Thai population but seemed to be treated as a minority. He wrote:

“Two thirds of the [Thai] people depend on agriculture and dwell in the countryside, the MPs they vote into Bangkok do not represent farmer’s interests... If the voice of villagers is heard, it is normally through people who worry in town and who project themselves as their spokesman.”

(Mulder 1997, p.339)

This study is about those people, particularly the villagers, who populate the vast Thai countryside. Consequently, our interest and reading on Thai society is largely concerned with characteristics of Thai people in general. Much is written about the effects of modernisation, urbanisation, and the concentration of a third of the Thai population in Bangkok and other cities (Mulder 1997, 2000). Yet, this literature is not of concern to the primary purpose of this thesis.

This study is concerned with The Ninth NESD plan that, specifically, charges government officials concerned with the development of villages. The principles of the inclusion of villagers are stated in the 9th. NESD reviewed above. The review of

literature as to the nature of Thai society, which follows, provides an essential context for field work which is described in Chapters Four and Five.

2.4.1 Society and Language in Thailand

Mulder (2000) emphasises that Thai society values smooth interaction between people and also the avoidance of overt conflict. When everybody knows his/her place, and behaves accordingly, these ideals can be achieved. The Thai social process does deal not so much with distinct individual personalities on their own merit, as with ranks and status position. Thus, symbols of status should be displayed, and people should live up to them, with this occurring, because most participants in any situation will be keenly aware of relative hierarchy (Mulder 2000). In this regard, Eiewsiwong (2002) states that language is used as a bargaining tool between social ranks as it uses the power of designated rights and social status.

Language can also be used as a tool of political and economic interest. Hobsbawm (1996) asserts that language is used to influence political decisions. In the case of the United States, language is used to control human capital by controlling access to economic resources, as is evidenced by limits on English instruction in refugee camps to ensure that immigrants have limited job qualification (Mel Marrero and Rodriguez 2002). While Mel Marrero and Rodriguez (2002) are concerned with a minority in a population, they suggest that language promotion is disregarded because of linguistic globalisation and also linguistic imperialism. Jones and LeBaron (2002) are aware of the urban culture constructs that routinely devalue rural culture. At some point in time, all cultural rural experiences change; this process is known as ‘cultural diffusion’ (Ferraro 1998; Prasithrathsint 1997). The proposal being made in this study is that by improving communication between officials and villagers, cultural diffusion may be enabled.

Sirisaiya (2004) asserts that, historically, Thai social organisation is vertical, as is described below. However, Thai society is highly flexible in that its people are capable of creating horizontal relationships. Sirisaiya (2004) stresses the importance of face-to-face interaction, which is a way to create closeness between social classes, especially between top officials and lowly villagers. It is noteworthy that Thai

society has an oral tradition, meaning that the majority of Thais value face-to-face relationships as these provide an opportunity for people to converse within a familiar, personable context to create close relationships. Essentially, face-to-face visits from government officials become an essential tool to involve villagers in the process of community management. This interpersonal approach helps villagers to realize the ownership of their hometown and also enable changes in the social system to facilitate the attainment of various anticipated solution (Calabrese 2004).

In other words, Thai people prefer to engage in dialogue on an informal basis. As such, intelligible dialogue between officials and villagers should lessen opportunities for mediators to pass on information between the government officials and the villagers and, thereby, take advantage of any communication gaps (Sirisaiya 2004).

In a study of refusal strategies of Thais, Promsrimas (2000) finds that a choice of possible strategies is related to the social status of interlocutors because Thai speakers apply different strategies according to the role, and the power, of participants in any conversation. However, speakers are more concerned with the listener's face than with their own face.¹ Komin (1990) explains that the tight hierarchical social system in Thai society is one in which inequality is accepted, and relationships strongly valued.

There are many areas to which economic and social attention could be directed. As indicated earlier, this study focuses on communication between government representatives (also referred to herein as officials) and villagers. For the purposes of the study, related discourse is the dimension of communication being investigated. This background to the proposed study refers to researchers who use the broader definition of discourse, such as those calling it communication.

Another important obstacle to effective communication is that of cultural differences. The concept of culture commonly accepted in the academic discipline of management is expressed as follows:

¹ *Face* is an Asian concept. The closest, most comparable Western concepts are pride and shame.

A pattern of assumptions ...shared by a given group, as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be valid, and, therefore to be taught to new members of the group as the correct way to perceive, think and feel in relation to those problems (Schein, 1985, p.52).

Thai people place importance on a close interpersonal relationship. Yet, the intertwining of the social status held by individuals in a Thai setting makes it difficult for outsiders to understand (Mulder 2000). Komin (1999) found that, in a hierarchical relationship society, communication patterns are top-down and, thus, Thais avoid airing their opinions, especially when they have different ideas from that of others. Komin's study is in line with that of Mulder (1997) who states that Thais were nurtured by the state and trained to staff the bureaucracy and the military. Also, Ferraro (1998) states that a close relationship exists between language and culture. In this regard, culture influences language, and language influences culture in a number of ways; thus, in order to understand language, the related cultural context needs to be studied. In relation to this view, culture provides humans with various way of orienting themselves as individuals, including ways of identifying themselves and others (such as by way of names and also terms for relationships), ways of evaluating themselves and their actions, plus ways of displaying the continuity of their memories and physical beings, as can be done through associated narrative (Carr 1986; Linde 1993, cited in Johnstone 2000). Clearly, language creates human experience in terms of individuality and familiarity; plus, the social context status and rank among people of different cultural identities, are created by education, administration, and politics (Widmer 1993).

2.4.2 Social Classes in Thai Society

The research interest captured by this thesis comes in at this point as to how the Thai government communicates the intentions of the 9th NESD plan to villagers who are the target of rural-related national development initiatives. Geographically, Thailand has five regions; North, Northeast, Central, East, and South. People in each region speak Thai, but they speak their own dialects, too. Also, they have differing cultures. It may be questioned how people make sense of the NESD plan since, far back in the

history and through to the present day, Thai society is hierarchical. It is for this reason that the relationship between government officials and villagers has long been that of superiors and inferiors (Rubin 1980). Onozawa (2002) explains the transformation of the workforce and hierarchies of Thai society. As presented earlier, especially in relation to the Ayuthaya period (1350-1767), there were four major characteristics that dominated Thai society. These were kingship, the administrative system, social classes and the manpower controlling system. People were divided into classes as follows:

- Royal families (Chao),
- Nobles and high officials (Khunnang),
- Commoners (Phrai), and
- Slaves (Thaat).

Social classes, nevertheless, have been transformed over times. (Toews and McGregor 2000) list Thailand social hierarchy today as follows:

- The Buddhist monks;
- The king and the royal family;
- The military, that has historically held most of the power in the country;
- The Chinese who manage the trade industries in the country;
- Public servants;
- The growing middle class; and,
- Farmers, labourers, and their dependants, who constitute the largest group in the population.

2.4.3 Discourse and Thai Society

The Thai government is committed to empower village communities in order to build a strong foundation for a rural society. To achieve this, the government is committed to a programme in which government officers regularly visit villages to seek their co-operation. Many factors, both helping and hindering communication, have been reviewed. Among these is language, which assumes a particular importance in Thai society, especially as this is a country and society where oral communication is preferred.

So it is that the study of discourse that takes place between government officials and villagers is the central focus of research presented in this thesis. Basically, this is a study of the language used for the purpose of determining how any necessary meaning is conveyed by both sides of a development discussion; specifically that between government officials and villagers. Obviously, we live in a world of interpersonal conversation and, “In every moment of talk, people are experiencing and producing their cultures, their roles, their personalities” (Moerman 1988, p.xi).

Another factor influencing communication with villagers is noted by Wuthnow (1998) by stating that there is a decline of public participation in modern society in general, and especially among young people. Accordingly, traditional communal organisations, and a community/societal infrastructure, increasingly, are based upon ‘loose connections’.

One might imagine that the countryside and city are two different worlds. This is not the case, and time does not stand still. As is inferred by the following:

“Migration, often seasonal, often leaves villages deserted but for the elderly and the very young. Dependency on the urban and international economy changes all expectations” (Mulder, 1997 p.301)

The influence of globalisation, a growing economy and increased consumption, are dominant factors behind current cultural developments that stimulate criticism and the morality found in public discourse (Mulder 1997). These influences, especially in cities, also drive people to be consumers and to assert their individuality in a wide variety of ways that are less traditional (Mulder 1997). For instance:

...the current fascination with consumption, with the celebration of individual economic success, with the shaping of modernity may dull the public discourse, may marginalize it because these motivations lead, on the one hand, to social inattentiveness and political indifference, and, on the other, to a preoccupation with their own particular affairs. As long as the

economy produces purchasing power, it is self-legitimizing, and with it politics will just remain a spectator sport (Mulder 1997, p.322).

Civilisation and modernisation have benefited Thailand and protected its sovereignty from the palpable threats of colonisation by Western countries active in the Asian region. However, by being a modernised state, this challenges the philosophy of sufficiency living. Development and technology are clustered in metropolitan areas, like Bangkok and large Thai cities, leaving out people in rural areas. Accordingly, Bangkok is crowded with people who are searching for employment and opportunities to raise their social standing, with this resulting in people leaving their home towns and villages. In increasingly modern times, people tend to be more concerned for themselves than others, doing so in numerous situations ranging from job positions, and even in relation to available space in an elevator. As Mulder (1997, p.327) writes “Urban individualism – everybody caring for his own affairs – overpowers tendencies to social responsibility and commitment”.

So, the mission of the Thai government is far more than striving for one way communication with villagers, which was the focus of studies mentioned earlier. The research problem is much more than ensuring that both sides of the rural development discussion have a common language. Of course, this is important. But, overriding this is the policy of building strong and socially viable rural communities. This research, therefore, seeks to comprehend barriers to communication, as well as to develop insights into rural cultures as to how these interact through discourse with government officials.

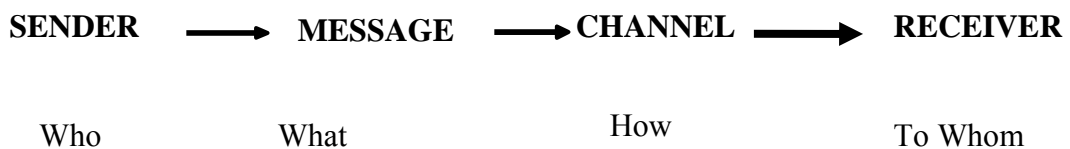
2.5 Communication Theory and The Concepts of Discourse Analysis

Kaewthep et al. (1999) synthesised studies done in Thailand in relation to communication for community development. They found that most of the available studies are quantitative, such as focusing on the impact of media, as well as satisfaction with media, and also on expectations of recipients resulting from sender’s messages. Kaewthep et al. (1999) also pointed out that social structure

designates the nature and boundary of the process of communication and in addition suggest that communication needs social organisation to be effective.

It is worth considering that quantitative studies of communication have limitations. Particularly, they are generally based on a model developed in the 1960s which is often depicted as presented in Figure 2.4 below, as per Whiteley (2002, p.83).

Figure 2.4 The Schramm Model of the Communications Process



(Schramm, 1960, in DeLozier 1976)

The assumption behind this simple model is that if the sender and receiver ensure that they share the same language, channel and physical reception, then effective communication takes place. Individual variables, such as the verbal interplay between officials and villagers, as well as the way that they construct these outcomes, are ignored. When the relationship between, say, officials and villagers was so-called one-way communication, then this model was sufficient and so, too, was any related quantitative research.

In this regard, several problems face the associated researcher today. The most important is the emphasis placed on communication by the 9th NESD plan and related government policy. Communication is encouraged as is participation and feedback to facilitate villagers in taking responsibility for themselves. This policy is easy to state. But, it is difficult to achieve because traditional, hierarchical relationships are robust, enduring and resistant to change. A deeper understanding of

communication between officials and villagers will determine what, in fact, is going on, as well as what is needed. Thus, the mission of the Thai government is greater than one-way communication with villagers, as was the focus of studies mentioned earlier. More so, the associated research problem is far more than ensuring that both sides of the rural-related economic and social discourse in Thailand have a common language. While important, the overriding issue is the policy focussed upon building strong and socially viable rural communities. The research reported in this thesis will, therefore, seek to comprehend barriers to communication and to develop insights into local cultures as they interact, doing so through reviewing villager discourse with government officials.

It is with this situation in mind that this study chose qualitative research methods. Moreover, Kaewthep et al. (1999) and Whiteley (2002) assert that a qualitative study is required in order to reflect other aspects of any social context, such as economic, political, social, and cultural structures, which can affect the communication process (Kaewthep et al. 1999).

The purpose of this review of the relevant literature, therefore, is to record the way in which understanding developed as to the analytical concepts of discourse. In the next chapter, theoretical perspectives behind the applied research methodology are presented.

A key source for discourse theory and practice is the two volumes by Wetherell, Taylor and Yates (2001). The first of these (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001a) focuses on discourse theory. One learns thereby that there are four bodies of knowledge arising from theoretical contributions provided by writers over the last hundred years. The first collection is called “Foundation and Building Blocks”, which contains readings from Wittgenstein, Saussure, Austin Foucault and others. The second collection brings together theories of social interaction; the third contains theories arising from discursive psychology; and the fourth hold theories based on cultural and social relations.

The companion volume, (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001) provides a worthwhile point of entry into a discourse analysis process which is “a set of methods and

theories for investigating language in use and language in a social context. Discourse research offers routes into the study of meanings, a way of investigating the back-and-forth dialogues which constitute social action...” (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001b, p. i). A question naturally arises here. Particularly, why are social scientists taking over a field that is traditionally held by linguists? The answer is that social science is turning to new forms of empirical research, and this is a general trend. Indeed, discourse theory and practice is a very lively, and well documented, topic in organisational studies (Jablin and Putnam 2001; Grant et al. 2004).

An informative and practical starting point for research on discourse is given by Taylor (2001) who provides an overview of discourse analysis identifying common issues for researchers, such as determining the research question, plus conduct of the researcher, as well as discourse analysis data and transcription. Wetherell, et al. (2001b) illustrated five core traditions in discourse research, with these being conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis, and the genealogical analysis of Foucault. From a study of research questions, context, data collection methods and examples, it appears that conversation analysis would be the most appropriate method. Working back from practical research conditions, the theory of conversation analysis was examined on account of its grounding in ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967), its application to organisations (Boden. 1994) and its well-documented methods (Ten Have, 1999: Hutchby and Wooffitt 1998). Of particular interest is Moerman (1988) who employed culturally contextualised conversation analysis and interpretative anthropology in the Thai-Lue village of Ban Ping. The aforementioned researchers became the inspiration for the analysis of initial interviews carried out in the familiarisation study, which is described in the context of the Research Methodology in Chapter 4.

Having gained an understanding of relevant research fundamentals, and a better appreciation of the practical link between theory and practice, a second stage of reading on communication theory took place. Theoretical perspectives underlying this study are set out in Chapter 3.

It is reminded that symbolic interactionism is “a constructivist perspective [in which] knowledge, including scientific knowledge, is *subjective*. It is the product of the context in which it is constructed” (O’Brien 2006, p.55) [author’s emphasis added].

Furthermore,

*Symbolic interactionism uses **interpretive** methodologies. The researcher attempts to take the perspective of the subject and to interpret the context in which the behavior takes place... the researcher tries to “look over the shoulder” of the group of interest. Some of the methods used to gather information about human relations include fieldwork, interviews and participant observation. The aim is to understand how humans see and enact their beliefs and ideals ...* (O’Brien 2006, p.56) [author’s emphasis].

With this reminder as a starting point, appropriate methodology was grounded in theory, as per Jablin and Putnam (2001) who provided a useful definition which confirms the one adopted for this study. This definition includes

the use of language in context, and the meanings or interpretation of discursive practices... discourse is viewed as a way of knowing or a perspective for understanding organisational life. It is a lens or point of entry for seeing, earning and understanding ongoing events. (Putnam and Fairhurst 2001, p.79)

In this scholarly field, which is dominated by Western thought in the English language, *organisation*, and words like this, are usually used interchangeably with the word *institution*. As such, given that this research studies communication between government officials and villagers in Thailand, it is considered to be located in the field of organisational/institutional theory.

A third source of recent contributions to the literature of organizational discourse was Grant, Hardy, Osrick & Putnam (2004), with fields covered including domains of discourse, methods and perspectives, discourse, organising and reflections. Once again, the associated reading was guided by relevance, and the following table, at

Table 2.3 sums up the link between theory and practice. This, in turn, guides the study undertaken and presented herein.

Table 2.3 Interpretivist Approaches to Organisational Discourse: Symbolic Interactionism

Main Conceptual Orientation	Potential Analytical Directions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Meanings arise and are modified through social interaction. - Action arises out of subjective meanings that agents attach to situations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focus on social interaction and on the meanings involved in interaction - Study of discourse in use and its relation to subjective meaning

(Heracleous 2004, p.181)

One of the most exciting sources of relevant information was Jaworski and Coupland (2006). Their *Discourse Reader* is described as “an integrated and structured set of original writings, representing the interdisciplinary field of discourse studies planned for use as a secondary source-book” Jaworski and Coupland (2006, p.xi).. Additionally, it includes “discussions of key research methods”. Jaworski and Coupland (2006, p.xi). The scope of this reader is too wide to précis here. But, it may be noted that it covers the same fields as the works of Wetherell, et.al. (2001a and 2001b), although is in more depth. One contribution was especially interesting. Mehan (2006) reports on research about how institutionalised power is used to define a situation. While this reading has limited relevance to the theory of communication under discussion, it may well be central to the research results in Chapter 5. Certainly, this was an important reminder that the literature review must not only cover the reading before fieldwork, but it must be useful in the discussion stage of this thesis.

The concepts of discourse analysis selected for this research are derived from the practice of narrative analysis. The focus is on discursive action which is viewed as the performative domain of social action. This approach is described by Edwards (2006, p.228) as follows:

Discourse is, analytically, what we have got, what we start with. Whereas we might assume, common-sensically, that events come first, followed by (distorted) understandings of them, followed by (distorted) verbal expressions of those understandings, [this analysis of narrative] inverts that, and treats both understandings and events themselves as participant's concerns – the stuff the talk works up and deals with”

This research is qualitative. It is recognised that all research is an interaction between the researcher and his or her subject; that there is, thus, no completely objective stance which allow anyone to view the truth. In this regard, “(t)he theories that shape the process of classification and interpretation [in research] determine the picture of reality which emerges, because these systems of thought provide a lens through which to collect, organize and interpret the information” (O’Brien 2006, p.56). At this point, the literature was narrowed down to the theory of interpersonal discourse analysis itself. The core text is Potter (1996). A focus of his book is to critically evaluate the basic procedures available to researchers so as to record and analyse the ways in which people build factual descriptions of everyday life through talking. A companion volume is by Edwards (1997) who spells out intellectual justification for the analysis of any narrative. As this researcher writes:

This book is an exercise in discursive psychology. Its aim is to outline and illustrate an approach to the relations between language and cognition, in which the primary and defining thing about language is how it works as a kind of activity, as discourse. The focus of cognition is part of an abiding interest in discursive psychology, which has sought to establish itself in contrast to the dominant perspective of the discipline [psychology] which is cognitive psychology. (Edwards 1997, p.1)

The chapter has reviewed background the study including the focus context, in the case, is the 9th NESD plan encouraging the involvement of the grassroots participation for the community development and introduced the sufficiency economy to Thai society. Among the top-down communication tradition practice which has long been embedded to the Thai culture in the history and adopted understood as nature of Thais. The last section of the chapter discusses the

communication theory and the concepts of discourse analysis to examine the culture and under the 9th NESD plan context.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Perspectives

3.1 The Research Paradigm

A paradigm is a basic belief system upon which all subsequent thinking is based. Guba (1990, p.9) notes that, in research, paradigms provide “options for inquiry”. (Geertz 1983) describes a paradigm as collective memory, which is a pattern of “inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge ... about life”. Today, it is recognised that there is no single perspective upon which qualitative research rests. Rather, such research involves a number of widely recognised traditions upon which the researcher may build to accomplish results which are regarded as trustworthy and true representations of the phenomena of interest.

Of three key options (postpositivism, critical theory and constructivism) developed over the last half century as an alternatives to conventional positivism, this study is based on the tenets of constructivism. In Chapter 4 the philosophy and consequent assumptions of constructivism are outlined. Beforehand, in this chapter, the historical origins and development of constructivist thought are reviewed.

By way of contrast with the conventional positivism, Table 3.1 shows a comparison of the theoretical perspective of constructivism upon which qualitative research stands.

Table 3.1 Qualitative Research versus Quantitative Research

Level	Description	Practices
Qualitative methodology	This is based on constructivist ontology and interpretive epistemology.	The gathering of stories, narratives, and data through both structured and unstructured interviews is compatible with the qualitative approach. This is a ‘generative’ approach and uses iterative methods. The

Level	Description	Practices
		research is not transportable across contexts or ‘generalized’ cases.
Quantitative methodology	This is based on positivist ontology and empirical epistemology.	Counting, or other means of reducing data, to gather strength of numbers. Connect the methodology to statistical theories and their parameters. This is a ‘testing’ approach and often uses predictive models. The methodology seeks to produce findings that are able to be generalized, as is applicable to all situations.

Adapted from Guba (1994, p. 111)

3.2 The Historical Foundations of Constructivism: Phenomenology and Symbolic Interactionism

The proposed interviews will draw on two theoretical perspectives, specifically, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism. Questions about the live experience of villagers as they converse together, and as they converse with officials, are informed by phenomenological ideas. Questions about theorising on how conversations are interpreted draw on symbolic interactionism.

3.2.1 Phenomenology

Phenomenology, as a method of inquiry, is rooted in the philosophy of Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) who was a German mathematician and philosopher. His philosophical perspective was that all intellectual processes and assumptions about the world resided in individual consciousness and perception. For Husserl, the creation of meaning is an active process, the result of intentionality by each individual who, through intersubjectivity (that which occurs between two, or more, conscious minds) build up through language and action a world of ‘collective meaning’. Consequently, he argued, that in order to

overcome the limitation of our inability to directly understand the world of others, it is necessary to 'bracket' subjectivity, that is to put one's own subjectivity to one side, in order to comprehend the collective meaning of others. For Husserl, so-called the life-world is both a part of, and yet is distinct from, the physical world around us. Intersubjectivity, as described above, is a membrane which holds the life-world together. In summary, Husserl has had a profound influence on philosophy during the entire twentieth century and the phenomenological movement has generated several related currents which are not always homogeneous (Audi 1995; Marshall and Rossman 1999).

Basically, Husserl argued that the only phenomenon of which we are certain is our own consciousness (Marshall 1998), as well as, (Schutz 1962; Schutz and Luckman 1974) and other social phenomenologists further developed Husserl's thoughts as a foundation for constructionism and the study of how ordinary members of society conduct their everyday lives. It is generally agreed that phenomenology provides a conceptual basis for the analysis of interpretative practice (Gubrium and Holstein 2000). In effect, phenomenology is an attempt to access the respondent's 'life world', as it is experienced through their consciousness.

In sociology, Husserl's method was adopted by Schutz (1967, 1974) to investigate the assumptions involved in everyday life. He focuses on the way in which ordinary members of society live their lives ('lived experiences'). The aforementioned concept of 'bracketing' has been widely adopted in qualitative research. The idea is that the researcher's own knowledge, attitudes and beliefs are deliberately set aside in order not to taint interview data. It is claimed that, by interviewer bracketing, as is achieved by thorough training, the researcher as an analyst is able to identify, describe and understand the subjective experience of respondents. It is even claimed that the phenomenological perspective allows a researcher to put him/herself

in the place of others and, thus, achieve an understanding of mundane reasoning, such as the ways in which people share their understanding of the world through a common culture.

3.2.2 Symbolic Interactionism

Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) coined the term *Symbolic Interactionism* in 1937 to represent the sociological perspective based on three central principles (Blumer 1969). Since then, symbolic interactionism has remained as an important theoretical influence on theory and research because it is focused on what actually occurs as humans interact. The three core principles are:

1. Human beings act towards things on the basis of *meanings* that the things have for them;
2. These meanings are the product of a continuous process of *social interaction* in society; and,
3. “Human interaction is mediated by the use of *symbols*, by interpretation, or by ascertaining the meaning on one another’s actions” (Blumer, 1969, p.180).

In summary, meaning is *constructed* by individual thought in the process of social interaction, and language gives humans an ability of negotiating meaning through symbols.

Symbolic interactionism (SI) is a major research perspective with many facets, both positivist and interpretive. It is not a methodology, but is a way of looking at society and at the activities of research, doing so in a certain way, with the belief that humans, as biological organisms, possess a mind and a self. In this respect, symbolic interactionism has philosophical similarities with phenomenology (to expose what is hidden in the lifeworld) and ethnomethodology (to make explicit the actions of everyday life) (Reynolds and Herman-Kinney 2003, Guba and Lincoln 2005). The theoretical origin and underpinning for SI lie in the philosophy of pragmatism which “stresses the relation of theory to praxis and takes the continuity of experience and nature as revealed through the outcome of directed action as the starting point for reflection” (Audi, 1995, p.638).

G. H. Mead (1863-1931), a philosopher and social psychologist, is regarded as the true founder of the symbolic interactionist tradition. Mead's theory of society, self and mind (1934/1964) contributes a great deal our understanding of people. Mead observed that our lives unfold within the society which is here before we arrive and that remains long after. So, social life is the context within which we, as individuals, exist. In short, society is possible because individuals act together and cooperate. This cooperation is only possible because each person has the ability to mentally place themselves in the position of others. This empathetic ability – to feel for others- allows a collective understanding, and a tradition that is learnt. In turn, this profoundly affects an individual's behaviour, thoughts and feelings. Mead's answer was gained through language, being a system of symbols through which shared meanings, expectations and understanding can be created. This, according to Mead, is an imaginative activity. (Reynolds and Herman-Kinney, 2003)

Symbolic interactionists believe that individuals are pragmatic beings who, continually, adjust their behaviour in accordance with the actions of other individuals. This process can only work because we are able to understand each other through symbols. This process of adjustment is aided by our ability to imaginatively rehearse alternative lines of action before we act. The process is further aided by our ability to think imaginatively about ourselves as symbolic objects, and to react to our own actions. Thus, SI theory sees individuals as active, creative participants who construct their social world, rather than be passive, conforming objects of socialisation as is the case in disciplines such as economics and traditional sociology. The focus of research under the SI umbrella, therefore, involves continually readjusting social processes where emergence and change represent the world we live in. But, research carried under the SI perspective is far more appropriate for addressing practical problems of managing change within an organisation, and is especially relevant when change affects the workforce or individual human beings.

3.3 Theoretical Perspectives, Plus Corresponding Data Collection and Analysis

Ethnomethodology

Harold Garfinkel, the American sociologist, coined the term ‘ethnomethodology’ (Garfinkel 1967/1999), proposing that ‘ethno’ referred to people’s commonsense knowledge by which we all live, and ‘methodology’ referred to the methods used to study this commonsense knowledge. The ethnomethodological perspective is defined as follows:

The scientific project of ethnomethodology is to analyze the methods, or the procedures, that people use for conducting the different affairs that they accomplish in their daily lives. [It is] the analysis of the ordinary methods that ordinary people use to realize their ordinary actions.

(Coulon, 1995)

It is also noteworthy that Mead turned the prevailing modernist view of society on its head by asserting that the intersubjectivity of individuals created society, even though society itself is the context in which we all live. But, the science of philosophy was not interested in the empirical question of how knowledge is produced. In effect, knowledge was regarded as the representational/technological product of research and was understood as a representation. Consequently, pioneering researchers sought an understanding of knowledge as a process and a practice. Among these researchers was Knorr-Cetina (1999) who elaborated the concept of ‘epistemic cultures’, defining these as:

those amalgams of arrangements and mechanisms - bonded through affinity, necessity, and historical coincidence - which, in any given field make up how we know what we know. Epistemic cultures are cultures that create and warrant knowledge, and the premier knowledge institution in the world is, still, science.

(Knorr-Cetina, 1981)

Knorr-Cetina’s particular work looked into the ways in which scientific knowledge is produced. Her conclusion and definition was designed to capture these processes and

the machinery of knowledge production within high energy physics and molecular biology. Her conclusion was that the production of knowledge is not a unitary process as it varies widely according to the epistemic culture within which it takes place (Knorr-Cetina, 1981).

There are two lessons to be learnt from theoretical research perspectives. The first is that the researcher adopts a perspective that is compatible with the epistemic culture within which they work. The second is the opportunity provided by this questioning of traditional boundaries for developing research perspectives that might be more appropriate for particular, practical problems that face managers. In this regard, the next section introduces a research perspective that was developed with the practising manager in mind.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory was pioneered by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It provided powerful logic for qualitative research in which theory was inductively developed from data captured through field research. This contrasted with the prevailing quantitative method that required abstract theory to deduce hypotheses for testing, which preceded the collection of data from the field (Charmaz, 2000). Essentially, the principles of grounded theory have become standard practice in qualitative research today (Ragin, 1994). As such, the basic principles of grounded theory were used to design the research undertaken in this study and are summarised in the three paragraphs that follow:

The core and incontrovertible values of grounded theory lies in its insistence on *emergence*. It does not test a hypothesis. Grounded theory sets out to understand the research situation. (Glaser, 1998)

One of the objectives of the preliminary fieldwork described below is to develop *sensitizing concepts* – the initial concepts which will guide this study (Ragin, 1994). This is achieved by constant comparison, a “technique used by qualitative researchers to aid the formulation and clarification of concepts in the process of collecting data” (Ragin, 1994, p.85).

The *systematic aims and procedures* of grounded theory applied to this study are illustrated in the section on data analysis that exists in Chapter 4.

3.4 Rigour: From Theory to Practice

In qualitative research, rigour is important. This section introduces some of the major issues that arose during the writing of theoretical perspectives in this chapter. The practical issue of rigour – how rigour was aimed at during the execution of the research design – is addressed in Chapter 4. Rigour was applied during data collection, data analysis, and through an audit trail, which is explained later under data management.

The issue of rigour in a qualitative study is complex, and under on-going debate by scholars. It is agreed, however, that validity is not the same as objectivity, which was found to be wanting (Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). A practical approach to rigour, which seeks to bypass philosophical debate, is to ask the question of a specific research outcome as to whether it is “faithful enough to some human construction that we feel safe in acting on [this outcome], or, more importantly, that members of the community in which the research is conducted may act on them” (Guba and Lincoln 2005, p.207). As the aim of this study is to achieve a practical outcome from the research question, rigour is of paramount importance. Consequently, in the context of this study, rigour is understood to be the production of data that is of high quality, meaningful and relevant for those officials who are responsible for communication to villagers of NESD plans and related objectives. There are guidelines on the achievement of rigour in qualitative research, and this study seeks to achieve the standards advocated by Whiteley (2002).

The starting point for the test of rigour in qualitative research is the examination of the assumptions made by the related researcher, as were stated above. Assumptions concerning the research methodology are set out in Chapter 4. The reasoning behind the practical execution of the research design are also set out in a separate section on rigour, as applied to data collection, data analysis and data management, and this is

also in Chapter 4. The intention was to keep rigour in the foreground during planning and execution undertaken in this study.

Table 3.2 below is adapted from Whiteley (2002, p.10) to give a composite picture of the application of rigour at every stage of this study.

Table 3.2 Rigour: Framework and Application

Design Issue	Perspective/Activity	Reasoning
Academic discipline of Philosophy	Becoming	To follow a story unfolding.
Academic discipline of Sociology	Phenomenology and Symbolic interactionism	Phenomenology seeks the lived experience of the respondents; Government officials and villagers talking in natural circumstances Symbolic interactionism is constructed by individual thought in the process of social interaction Language gives humans a means of negotiating meaning through symbols.
Ontology	Constructivism	Basic assumption that respondents construct their own realities
Epistemology	Interpretive: Relationship between self and that being researched	Researcher collaborates, spends time in field with respondents and conduct research from the inside out.
Methodology	Grounded Theory for analysis of discourse content. Discourse analysis for structure of discourse	Grounded Theory relies and insists on emergence of data. Discourse analysis specifically examines the structure and context.
Analytic Frame	Flexible and iterative.	Data will be used to inform the formative idea and will, where

Design Issue	Perspective/Activity	Reasoning
		necessary, allow modification.
Data Collection Methods Preliminary fieldwork (Familiarization study) followed by interviews in main study.	Sampling Interviewing Transcription	Preliminary fieldwork is conducted to set the initial concepts which will guide main study. Tape recording the interviews and conversations is to capture data to be transcribed for data analysis.
Data Analysis : Content analysis Structure analysis	ATLAS.Ti Procedures: - utterance to code - codes to categories - constant comparison - core categories emerged Discourse analysis: As above and use discourses to draw inferences.	Grounded theory allows a systematic and emerged set of categories The analysis of the discourse of officials and villagers is compared to evaluate communication.
Data Management: Software aided management of transcripts Analysis of discourse in taped interviews Audit Trail	Atlas Ti procedures: - document manager - quotation manager - code manager -family manager Transcript using CA conventions Log of research activity	Allows construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of codes and categories seamlessly. Discourse data for interpretation. 1. Helps researcher to manage research process 2. Evidence of rigour in the execution of the research design.

The study is conducted and based on the tenets of constructivism and the historical origins and development of constructivist thought are reviewed. The proposed interviews will draw on two theoretical perspectives, specifically, phenomenology and symbolic interactionism. The study is to explore the live experience of villagers as they converse together, and as they converse with officials, are informed by phenomenological ideas; and to uncover theorising on how conversations are interpreted draw on symbolic interactionism. Thus, the basic principles of grounded

theory were used to design the research undertaken in this study which that the grounded theory sets out to understand the research situation. Rigour is applied during data collection, data analysis, and through an audit trail, which is explained later under data management will be presented in detail in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Methodology

This chapter addresses the methodology developed, and used, to guide and carry out the research presented in this thesis. There are two parts to the chapter: The first is to set out the research methodology; the second is to describe the research constructed within these theoretical parameters.

4.1 The Theory of the Methodology

4.1.1 Ontology

The ontological issue in qualitative research addresses the nature of reality suggested by the research question of this study. The research conducted, the assumption is that “reality is constructed by the individuals involved in the research situation” (Creswell 1998, p.76). It assumes that multiple realities exist, such as the realities of the researcher, those of individuals included in the study (respondents), and also those of the reader or audience interpreting the study. From a phenomenological perspective, the taken-for-granted social world of a community (the space in which there is the official-villager interaction) is an on-going accomplishment of individuals’ interpretive activities, collective representations, or culturally-shared categories that the participants use to make sense of life (Schneider 2002). In summary, this study assumes a reality that is constructed by the individuals involved in the research situation (Creswell, 1998).

In this study of communication between officials and villagers, what lies beneath the surface of peoples’ behaviours and actions are unknown. Consequently constructivist ontology is called for as this type of thinking recognises the dynamic force of interaction in the negotiation and production of meaning (Whiteley, 1995).

4.1.2 Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the philosophical theory of knowledge which, in layman terms, is commonly expressed as “how we know what we know” (Marshall, 1998, p.198). In this study, we are concerned with the nature of knowledge, as well as the relationship required between the researcher and any desired knowledge. If knowledge lies within interpretive capabilities of respondents, then the researcher will interact with respondents, doing so with the express purpose of giving them a voice. In this case it is ‘think mutuality’. In other words, it is recognised that the researcher and related respondents are linked together in such a way that both parties ‘create’ the findings as the inquiry proceeds. The researcher, therefore, needs to put a side, as far as is humanly possible, their own ideas, opinions and values. This technique, which is described as ‘analytical bracketing’ by Holstein and Gubrium (2005) is discussed below.

4.1.3 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory was pioneered by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It provided powerful logic for qualitative research in which theory was inductively developed from data captured through field research.

This contrasted with the prevailing quantitative method that required abstract theory to deduce hypotheses for testing, which preceded the collection of data from the field (Charmaz, 2000). Essentially, the principles of grounded theory have become standard practice in qualitative research today (Ragin, 1994). As such, the basic principles of grounded theory were used to design the research undertaken in this study and are summarised in the three paragraphs that follow:

The core and incontrovertible values of grounded theory lie in its insistence on *emergence*. It does not test a hypothesis. Grounded theory sets out to understand the research situation. (Glaser, 1998)

One of the objectives of preliminary fieldwork described below is to develop *sensitizing concepts*, being the initial concepts that will guide this study (Ragin, 1994). This is achieved by way of constant comparison, a “technique used by qualitative researchers to aid the formulation and clarification of concepts in the process of collecting data” (Ragin, 1994, p.85).

The *systematic aims and procedures* of grounded theory applied to this study are illustrated in the section on data analysis as appears below.

4.2 Discourse Analysis Theory

In Chapter 2 we set out relevant literature that was consulted during the course of this study in order to arrive at a robust theory of communication. In this section, we narrow and focus our minds to describe the specific discourse theory that lies behind the methodology leading to the research design that follows. In other words, it is the theory that guided the ways in which the field work was planned, carried out and analysed.

Discourse analysis is the close study of language in use and is best understood as a field of research, rather than a single practice. Discourse analysis, therefore, looks closely at language in use, looking for content and structure that shows patterns. As mentioned previously, language works effectively as a mode of communication because it is a vehicle for meaning; in other words, it can be used to convey meaning from one person to another, provided that both are familiar with the elements of the language. It is worth considering that language, as a system, is constantly changing. Also, it is the place where meanings are created and changed. Language, therefore, is an important way for doing things, such as greeting, exchanging information, snubbing, claiming, and persuading, or even denying or sowing doubts. In such circumstances, to understand what is being done exactly, it is necessary to consider the use of language, and do so within the process of an ongoing interaction (Potter 2001; Wetherell, Taylor et al., 2001). Two methods were used in the research design

and followed through in the data collection and analysis, with the theory underlying these summarised below.

4.2.1 The Analysis of Content

Discourse content refers specifically to what people say during the course of fieldwork interviews. Grounded theory, which was described and explained above, specifies the principles and rules for data collection and analysis.

Discourse analysis:

Gubrium and Holstine (2000) report that whereas ethnomethodology engages the accomplishment of everyday life at the interactional level, Foucault has undertaken a parallel project in a different empirical register. In the early 1960s, at about the same time as ethnomethodologists did, Foucault considers how historically and culturally located systems of power/knowledge construct subjects and their worlds. Foucauldians refer to these systems as “discourses,” emphasising that these are not merely bodies of ideas, ideologies, or other symbolic formulations, but are also working attitudes, mode of address, terms of reference, and courses of action suffused into social practices.

Gubrium and Holstine (2000) review discourse, from Foucault’s point of view, as socially reflexive, both constitutive and meaningfully descriptive of the world and its subjects. But, for him, the analytical accent is as much on the constructive what that discourse constitutes as it is on the how of discursive technology. While this represents a swing of the analytic pendulum toward the culturally “natural,” Foucault’s treatment of discourse as social practice suggests, in particular, the importance of understanding the practices of subjectivity.

Although ethnomethodologists and Foucauldians draw from different intellectual traditions and work in distinct empirical registers, when regarding social practice; they both groups attend to the reflexivity of

discourse. Neither discourse-in-practice nor discursive practice is viewed as being caused or explained by external social forces or internal motives; rather, both are taken to be the working mechanism of social life itself, as actually known or performed in time and place (Gubrium and Holstein 2000).

In summary, what Foucauldian considerations offer ethnomethodology is an analytic sensitivity to the discursive opportunities and possibilities at work in talk and social interaction, without making it necessary to take these up as external templates for the everyday production of social order (Gubrium and Holstein, 2000).

4.2.2 The Analysis of Structure

By ‘structure’, we mean the supporting framework in which content takes place. For example, a Headman in a Thai village may complain to a Thai government official that certain subsidies have not arrived. This complaint, which may be recorded in a written report to Central Administration, would be content. However, in comparison, this information might emerge during a discussion that can take many forms, such as complaint, humour (laughing it off), subservience, indifference and even a lack of understanding about the whole issue. All these factors are known as structure.

When this research project was first designed, Conversation Analysis (CA) was adopted was also used to capture structure. This method, and associated analysis, is grounded in the theoretical perspective of ethnomethodology and was developed as a practical method of data collection and analysis by a series of researchers starting with Harvey Sacks in 1964 (Jefferson, 1995). CA is considered to be “the most analytically and empirically productive [discourse analytic practices] in specifying the actual procedures through which social order is accomplished” (Holstein and Gubrium, 2005, p.483). Unfortunately, this critical review of methods of “documenting social reality” was

published two years after the start of this research. As such, CA was used in the familiarization study, and it immediately became apparent that it was impossible to record interviews in a form that met the requirements of formal CA analysis. However, experience with the Jeffersonian system of transcription, developed for CA and widely adopted (Whiteley, 2002), proved productive and was used in the subsequent analysis of discourse data.

After this experience with the familiarization study, a new literature search was initiated into the field of discourse analytic theory. This is recorded in Chapter 2 under the subheading of ‘Communication Theory’. The outcome was to adopt the practices of *Discourse Analysis* as a method of collecting and analysing the data for structure from talk that was relevant to the discourse of officials and villagers.

4.3 Research Design

Research design is at the heart of this research. It provides the rationale for the thinking that is described in Chapters Two and Three. It is the plan for undertaking the activities of data collection and analysis, the results of which are recorded in Chapter Five, which follows. The design of this study was guided by the following quotation:

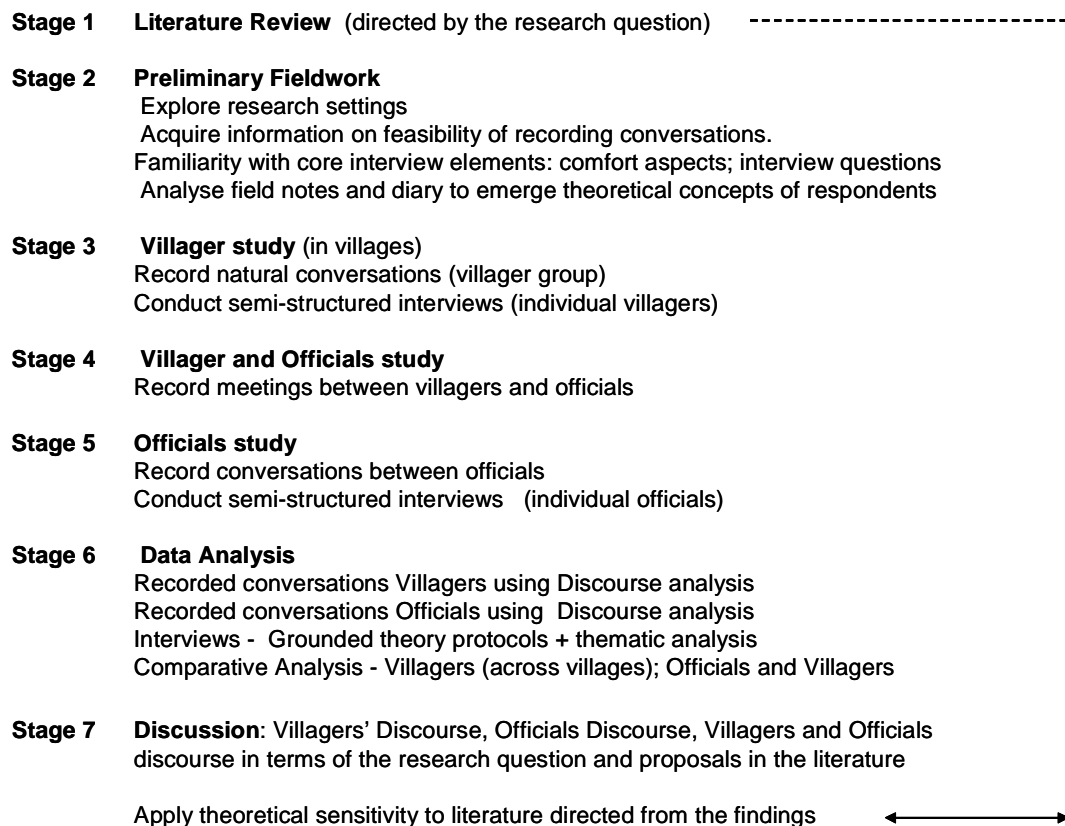
The purpose of the research design is to provide the logical sequence that connects the field data to the study’s initial research question and ultimately its conclusion. This means that the rationale for the research must follow a plausible pattern and the sequencing must do the same. The key word here is ‘connect’. Each part of the study connects the other part to the research question. (Whiteley 2002, p.3).

The design of this research is presented in three parts:

1. Figure 4.1 illustrates the sequence of events which were planned and executed to carry out the research;

2. It describes the sequence of planned activities following the literature review in detail; and,
3. The third part critically appraises the research design commenting on difficulties and opportunities which emerged in practice.

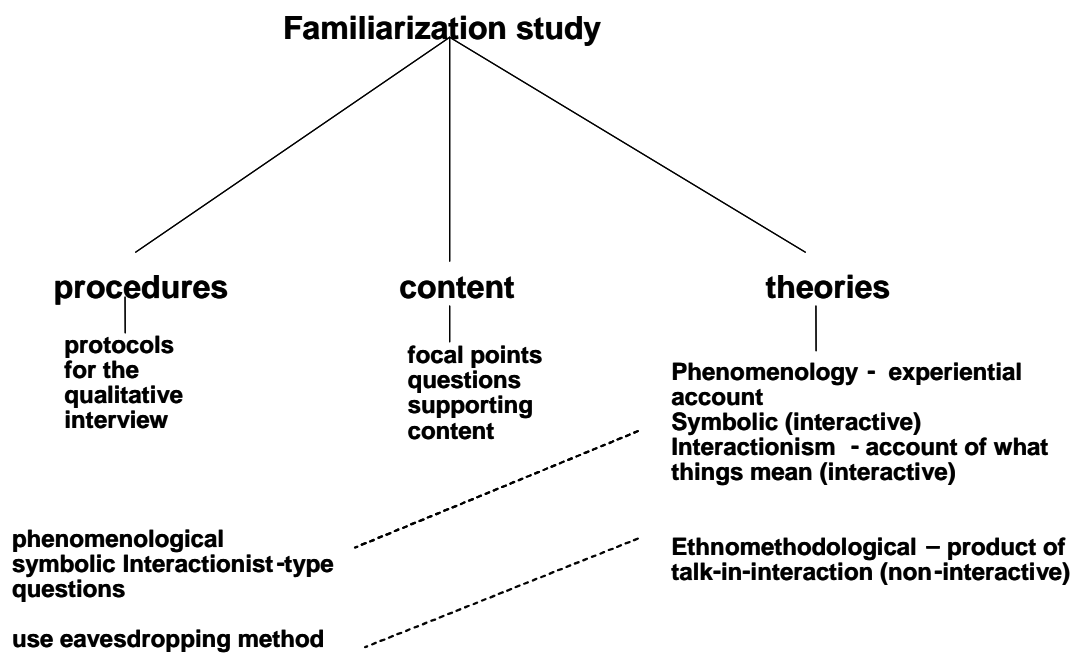
Figure 4.1 The Research Design Model



4.3.1 The Preliminary Fieldwork: STAGE 2

The activities of the preliminary fieldwork, as described below, are based upon the work of Whiteley and Whiteley (2007) who provided Figure 4.2 below and which serves to show how the *theoretical perspectives* in Chapter 3 are linked to the *procedures* of data collection and to the *questions* which are to be asked.

Figure 4.2 The Familiarisation Study



(Whiteley and Whiteley 2007)

The activities in the preliminary fieldwork were to:

- Visit an appropriate village (one that was not used in the final sample);
- Meet potential respondents (being the people to be interviewed);
- Raise the question of recording them;
- Become familiar with core aspects of the interview questions; and,
- Make field notes so that the related experience as could be analysed later.

What follows is a summary of the field notes on procedures and content, each of which is taken in turn.

4.4 Procedures

Identify respondents and contact them.

The respondents of this study, to be interviewed fact-to-face, were government officials who contact people in villages in order to explain policies and also to provide support to the villagers themselves. The protocol for approaching government official is to contact them in advance by way of a letter so as to inform them of the purpose of an appointment. Interviewing the villagers is possible only at their convenience and willingness.

Mediators were used to establish initial contact and enable confidence between researcher and respondents. These mediators were people known to the researcher, and who were familiar with the locals, in addition to being able to speak like them. Mediators were neither officials nor villagers (see section on *Rigour* below for a full account of the role of mediators). Conversation with the mediator should not be overlooked. It is another useful source of information and completes some understanding about behaviour and culture of the informants.

Greeting and Approach

In a Thai, societal context, what government officials will be called depends upon their position in the public sector. For villagers, terms such as uncle, aunt, grandma, or brother will be used and, after that, the use of their names is acceptable. Thai customary greetings, such as the verbal *sawadee*, and the gesticulatory *wai*, are always welcome and are strongly recommended, as these are completely mandatory when approaching both groups of respondents.

Language

Wording in the research questions was reviewed several times in order to reach a desired level of understanding, especially with regard to villagers so that they could respond easily to interview questions. The central dialect of Thailand is understood widely. However, utilising someone locally, who speaks the local dialect fluently, is more beneficial, and this helps the researcher to gain trust and, at the same time, to

build rapport. Overall, the interview questions were modified to fit with villagers' experiences and routines so that they can relate to those questions.

Responses

The officials tend to respond directly to questions asked. The information given in responses was both factual and experiential. Given their roles, related activities and responsibilities are directed by government policies, plans, and strategies.

The villagers would rather talk about themselves first, or speak of topics that were interesting to them, and then answer the posed research-related questions later on. Basically, they prefer informal talks and meetings. The researcher, sometimes, had to ask the same question more than once, or ask it in a different way to make it simpler and easier for the villagers to understand. Essentially, the researcher has to be patient and attentive all the time.

In both cases, whether talking to villagers or officials, the writing of notes while talking to them proved to be somewhat of a distraction for the researcher and respondents alike. Fortunately, the subsequent use of a tape recorder proved to be beneficial, especially when it did not make the interviewees nervous.

4.5 Content

The familiarisation study allowed the researcher to formulate questions, select the method of data collection, and also plan data analysis. A set of eight semi-structured interview questions, based on the research question, were planned. An additional, open-ended question was added that allowed respondents to bring up more of their stories if they felt it necessary to do so. The interview questions were as follows:

1. What meeting patterns are usually organised?
2. On what occasion will the meeting be called?
3. What is pattern of communication applied? (formal or informal)
4. What language (or dialect) is spoken in the meeting?
5. How is the information exchange rechecked or monitored to ensure mutual understanding?

6. How good is the co-operation between the officials and villagers?
7. Do the officials/villagers have opportunities to work or perform some activities autonomously?
8. What are the worries or concerns in your working environment or society?
9. What else does the respondent want to add?

The researcher tested the above mentioned questions with respondents and took note of their related responses. Some alterations of the interview questions were made after the undertaking preliminary fieldwork.

4.6 Summary of Changes to the Research Design

After the familiarisation study was conducted, it was found that the natural conversation among the villagers, officials, and between them were impossible to record because of the lack of time available, and also because of privacy reasons of the respondents. Another reason for poor audio recording was that officials often spoke with villagers without the use of a microphone and public address system and, as such, were inaudible when audio recordings were reviewed.

There were two consequences of this discovery. First, it was practically impossible to carry out data collection that was planned for stage 4 of the research design. Second, when tape recordings were reviewed, it became apparent that the material was not suitable for analysis using the method known as conversation analysis. Even so, and despite the aforementioned issues of recording all conversations, usable audio tapes were reviewed and the recorded conversations seemed to fit in to three groups, being monologue, dialogue, and social. Accordingly, these tapes offered a promising insight into the structure of communication using the method of discourse analysis.

4.7 The Main Study: Stage 3–Villager Study and Stage 5–Official Study

4.7.1 Data Collection

1. Theory

Phenomenological interviewing is a specific type of in-depth interviewing grounded in the tradition of phenomenology, which is the study of lived experiences and the ways that we understand those experiences in order to develop a worldview. It rests on an assumption that there is a structure and essence to shared experiences that is a phenomenon shared by several individuals (Marshall and Rossman, 1999).

The primary advantage of phenomenological interviewing is that it permits an explicit focus on the researcher's personal experience, one that is able to be combined with those of the interviewees. It focuses on the deep, lived meanings that events have for individuals, and assumes that these meanings guide actions and interactions.

Table 4.1 Qualitative Genre and Overall Strategy

Genre	Strategy	Focus of Inquir
Individual lived experience	In-depth interviews	Individuals
Society and culture	Case study	Groups or organisation
Language and communication	Microanalysis	Speech events and interactions

(Marshall and Rossman, 1999, p.61)

It is essential that all participants experience the phenomenon being studied (Creswell, 1998). In harmony with grounded theory, the investigator chose participants based on their ability to contribute to an evolving theory. Using the terms of grounded theory, theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2000) was used to develop emerging categories and to make them more definitive and useful. Thus, the aim of this sampling is to refine ideas. This begins with selecting and studying a homogeneous sample of individuals and, then, after developing the theory, selecting and studying a heterogeneous sample. The rationale for studying this heterogeneous sample is to confirm, or not the conditions, both contextual and intervening, upon which the model stands. Berg (1998, p.229) describes *purposive sampling* whereby

researchers use their special knowledge, or expertise, about some group to select subjects who represent characteristic of that population. In some instances, purposive samples are selected, after field investigations of some group are conducted, in order to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons, who display particular attributes, are included in the study.

2. Practice

Data collection, in practice, depended on first selecting a village, followed by the selection of appropriate respondents.

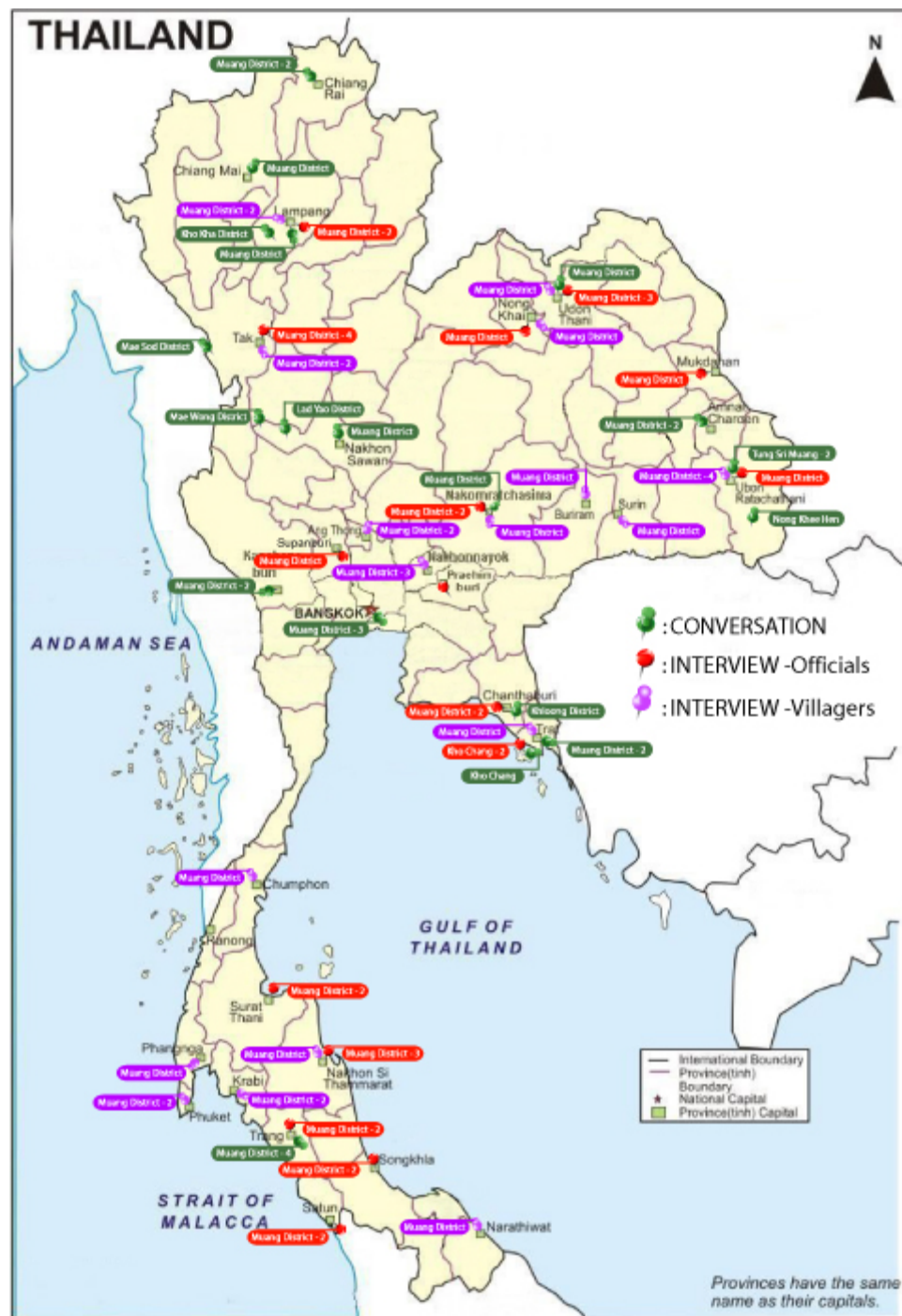
Selection of a village

Thailand is a large country, with a population of about 65 million people. Two thirds of the population live in rural villages. Forty-three percent of this population works in agriculture. The country is divided into 75 provinces which are grouped into five districts (Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) 2008). The task for the researcher was to select a purposive sample that, in the words of Stake (2005, p.451), would have “built in variety and acknowledged opportunities for intensive study”. On this basis, it was decided to visit villages in all five districts to ensure a spread of representation.

Table 4.2 Distribution of Interviews of Officials and Villagers per Districts

Districts	Official	Villagers
North	8	4
Central	5	6
North-East: Northern	5	2
North-East: Southern	3	7
South	9	11
Total	30	30

Figure 4.3 Location of Interviews and Conversation records of Officials and Villagers



4.7.2 Rigour

1. Theory

The role of the detached observer in qualitative research is a primary aim that is achieved by way of the researcher maintaining a greater sense of self-awareness (Scott and Marshall, 1998). *Bracketing* is a technique advocated by authorities on interpretive practice in order to achieve and sustain self-awareness. Essentially, the objective of the researcher is to stand outside their personal discourse culture so as to record, understand and interpret local understandings. Accordingly, the researcher followed the principles of analytical bracketing when interviewing. “As [interviewing and] analysis proceeds, the observer intermittently orients to everyday realities as both the *products* of members [respondents] reality-constructing procedures and as *resources* from which realities are constructed” (Holstein and Gubrium, 2005).

2. Interviewing in Practice

An account of the fieldwork experience, as follows, shows how the researcher sought to apply the principles of bracketing.

Immersion: A Personal Account

Nakorn Sri Thammarat is a province located in southern part of Thailand. A southerner has their own accent, which varies in other parts of the south. It was the first time I was there.

Peem, a friend of mine, works as a full time researcher at Walailuck University. He needed to organize a meeting for interested researchers, funding representatives, community development officers and villagers who might want to join his project. There were about 70 people. He invited me to observe the meeting that took two days.

For the meeting, I dressed like someone who did not appear to be too academic, a shirt and a pair of blue jeans and I also carried a back pack. This was done to fit in

with locals. However, I could not do anything about my lighter skin tone as a number of southern-Thai villagers have darker skin tone than mine.. I sat quietly, listened and observed them presenting while looking at the villagers' responses.

The academics there began their presentations. After each presentation the representative from the funding unit critiqued each research proposal. This process went on and on. The villagers were very patient in listening to these people for half a day, particularly as the academics used words which were not easy to understand and I, thereby, noted the importance of using a simple vocabulary when talking to villagers.

In the afternoon, we all visited Ka Rho village, being a site of Peem's research project, where the villagers tried speaking in the manner of someone from Bangkok. In effect, they became formal because they knew who we were and wanted us to feel welcome.

I learned that:

- The smaller the size of a meeting, the better it is because the researcher can then determine who was talking and it was also easier to understand conversations when there was overlap.
- Fitting in with respondents, especially with villagers, would be helpful so that respondents can speak their mind.
- The officials seem to overlook differences among people in a meeting, such as government officials, academics, and villagers.
- The central Thai dialect is understood, generally. But, it is difficult for the villager to speak it.
- When a meeting became formal (such as the visit to Ka Rho) this, somehow, stops people telling their side of the story for fear of appearing inappropriate in doing so.

Looking at the notes that I made earlier, I noticed how I ordered the list of people attending the meeting, having ranked the villagers last. Why was that? Status, rank, and order were automatically listed. It was a sign for the researcher to consider about self-awareness, even at very first stage of the research project.

I think that, on this trip, I would have been ranked 6 out of 10 for mingling with the villagers, and observing. First, the meeting pattern was formal. Second, the villagers wanted to show their appreciation of our attention to study their problems in managing community funds. In that regard, the number of villagers who were interested in the development of their community and their life styles was impressive.

What was learnt from the preliminary field study?

The formal meeting between academics and villagers was a barrier, being one with which the villagers were unfamiliar. Also, the academics spoke in the central dialect, which was understood by the villagers; but, the villagers could not respond in the same way. Primarily, this is because they had to think a great deal before putting their thoughts into words.

Lampang is a province in northern Thailand. It takes 50 minutes, by plane, to travel from Bangkok to Lampang. Lai, a local person there who was a lecturer and head of the Lampang centre of Suan Dusit Rajabhat University, took me to see local villagers and officials. Lai speaks the northern dialect and has friendly characteristics. She has coordinated with some locals and provincial officers previously; so, it was easy for me to travel around the province when with her.

Most villagers have a smile all the time when they meet people, and you would feel welcome. They greet in traditional Thai way, which is to use the “*wai*” gesture, and to say “*sawasdee*”. We met two groups of housewives who weave cotton. After greeting them, we let them work and we watched. Lai also brought with us her sister, who has lived locally. While they talked, I walked around and taped the conversation for some time, and then we left.

Beforehand, just before we figured out who was who, we met a guy who looked familiar to Lai. Lai approached and greeted him. She explained the purpose our visit. He turned to me and said very ridiculous thing for a first time meeting, saying “so you are studying a doctoral degree...or Dog?” It is noteworthy that ‘dog’ is an offensive word for Thais, especially when you don’t know to whom you are talking.

It is, in fact, a stupid form of talking. I think that it is was a way for him to show his power as he is an officer here and, therefore, he was using, if not abusing, his elder status. If this is someone acquainted to me, then the use of a derogatory term is probably alright. I wondered how this person interacted with the villagers. Later, Lai said he felt inferior because all of his colleagues at his age were promoted. I then gained some understanding as to why he had behaved so inappropriately.

Later, we followed a provincial officer who came to see a particular construction site. He was walking with the umbrella up, so I couldn't capture much of his conversation. Mostly, I observed and then made some notes. His people gathered around the big boss and called him "Sir" at every opportunity. They nodded and bowed to show respect and politeness in his presence.

When I thought that it was time to leave, I told Lai that we should do so and that we should also say goodbye to the 'big boss'. He turned around and said, "Are you leaving now? Don't you want to hear a bit more about what I'm doing here?". I said, "That's alright, take your time. Thank you for letting me followed you around". He asked me "Where are you from?". I said, "I'm a lecturer from Rajabhat Suan Dusit University". He responded with interest, "Oh, Suan Dusit". I replied "Yes. If you need any help from Suan Dusit then please let us know. He then said "Yes, I need a lot of people to join me at the stadium next year". I indicated that this was fine by saying "Absolutely. Not a problem at all. Just let me know. Goodbye".

It was when he realized that we were from Suan Dusit, that the big boss tried to be friendly, and gave us some attention, especially because Suan Dusit has a centre of excellence in this province. Plus, Lai had, many times, conducted polls in the province.

That scene and interaction was proof of the hierarchical culture in Thailand of boss and subordinate. Status and rank are prominent among officials, with this reflected in words and behavioural interaction that can, thereby, differentiate bosses from subordinates.

In the evening, Lai took me to her sister's resort to stay for a night. We became acquainted, and I purposefully left my tape recorder with a group of people who came for dinner and I left them. Later, I heard how they talked in their language, which I didn't understand.

The next day, in the morning, Lai's brother, Rearn, took us up in the high country. We went to a school there where some teachers had taught Lai when she was young. There was obvious activity when we arrived there as a group of teachers, and about 60 people, had organised a seminar at the school, and they raised some funds for a temple nearby. The villagers, teachers, and monks all have a very close relationship. They respect and depend upon one another. I would say that it was a lovely community.

During the following day, we met Chaan, a leader of Baan (village) Sam Kha (which means three legs). Chaan was respected by the villagers for leading his people to do community activity for their hometown, doing so with the support from the TRF. People from another village, Baan Sa Det, asked him for help in writing a research proposal so that they, too, could receive funds from Thai Research Fund (TRF). Chaan called a meeting to explain procedures of writing a proposal and he tried to determine in the discussions about the process of gaining a collective agreement in relation to the problem they had raised.

During this trip, I felt more confident about mingling with village people. Probably, I looked much like them as my skin tone is similar to theirs. Unfortunately, time was limited, and I expect that, when I next visited, I should be able to gather more from the officials from whom I had obtained very little.

Travelling in a van with Lai, I received some interesting information; particularly, some words in the villagers' dialect, sound and meaning are the same as in English. Those words, for example, are 'bottom' and 'stage'. Lai further explained that, a long time ago, American soldiers were in the area for an extended period. That explained why English words had appeared in the local language. Not only me, but also Lai, had enjoyed the trip and she offered to take me to see other locals, or anyone else, and make the necessary arrangements. It was good to have her around because she is, very much, one of them, a villager.

I learned that:

- Having a local, like Lai, taking me to see other locals is beneficial as it helps me to overcome dialect-speaking obstacles; and,
- I could use my status of being a lecturer, or a research student, in different situations.

Samutsongkram is a province in the central part of Thailand. It takes one hour and a half to travel there, by car, from Bangkok. Suwanee is a friend of mine, and Took, her friend, has a husband who is a mayor there. I went with her in a van. On this trip, Oon, my assistant at school, also came along. When we arrived at a restaurant, the mayor was busy tasting foods in a cooking contest. It was a project to promote the seafood and famous menus from Samutsongkram province where mackerels and pomelos, a citrus fruit, are plentiful. In the afternoon, he had a meeting; so, his wife, Took, arranged for one of the deputy mayors to give me information that I needed.

The deputy mayor was very helpful and friendly. He called a district officer to give me information as well. These people took us to talk to aunt Pleung, who made sugar from palm trees, and uncle Wirat who painted Benjarong porcelain. Both of these villagers were acquainted with the officials. A lot of people visited them about product development, especially as they were leading producers in the province. It is noteworthy that uncle Wirat had developed his own Benjarong business, doing so by himself, with others only coming to value his work lately. Therefore, he didn't seem to care much about provincial interest and officials. As a result, I found that talking to the villagers in this instance meant that I had to be patient as they preferred to say what they wanted to say, and an answer to my questions would come later on.

The district officer was nice, and was very familiar with these people. He was good in selecting words to make the villagers understand, while the deputy mayor still uses some English words and official language. However, a word like 'order' is widely spoken. I heard that when I met with the lady weaving groups, in Lampang, too. So, what I learned from this trip is that villagers do not answer questions right away. I'll have to wait, and probably ask the question in a different way. But, uncle Wirat doesn't seem to give me anything responding to my study. I'll find someone else.

Prajinburi is a province in central of Thailand and it is just two hours by car when travelling there from Bangkok. On 29 March, 2005, I was invited by the Province to join a seminar on setting up an “Agro Industrial Park” there. There were over a hundred of people from various local government units, and also from a number of villagers in the area. The mayor arrived late, and the whole seminar waited for four or five entrepreneurs to come from Samut Prakarn province who were supposed to be in the discussion panel and share their fishery industry experience. However, the start of event was an hour late, and no staff member seemed to know what to do. As such, a spokesman just talked to kill the time. Eventually, when everyone settled down, a deputy mayor began speaking about the objective of province planning and the intention to build a local agro industrial Park. The mayor then took over after his deputy had finished and explained that the province had the capacity to produce fishery products, especially shrimp, as well as agricultural produce. The agro industrial park is to be a place for investors to build factories, and a place for primary products to be transformed into more commercial and industrial goods. The mayor also expressed interest in Topeka, which is plentiful in the area, and to transform it into biodegradable packaging products. Lastly, the mayor encouraged attendees to give opinions and their experiences in relation to the marketing of the agro industrial park.

The next speaker was a lecturer. The spokesperson proudly introduced the speaker as being a young lady with a doctoral degree and from a leading university. This lecturer talked about her research on changing topeka into a biodegradable package. She continued for over an hour, speaking about her research in polymer, starch, flour and molecules, using many scientific terms, as well as pictures to show the forming of related molecules. Overall, the seminar was a failure from the outset. It had not followed with what the mayor had said from the start. So, this made the rest of the day of little interest for people to stay, even though a number of locals were standing outside the room.

I learned that the provincial officials were not good in organizing any process, such as a seminar, and that they were unprepared. The end result was terrible. In

addition, I learned that the status of a person, and where they work, are recognized and also admired by officials.

Patumtani is a province near Bangkok, an hour away from centre of the city when traveling there by car. I went there twice because the associated mayor is my father's friend. My father and I met him, first time, at his office. I interviewed him after explaining what I was studying, and we talked for about 30 minutes. He was very academic and was studying a doctoral degree. He, sometimes, spoke English words and formal Thai terms, just like in the 9th NESD plan. Occasionally, my father joined the conversation. The mayor convinced me that the 9th plan was necessary; but, it was introduced to the government by Dr. Taksin Shinawatra, the Prime Minister at the time. The Prime Minister, however, preferred to use strategic plans and prioritized national issues that government units had to follow and make happen. In a way, it was useful and objective; but, in another way, it was confusing to people lower in the bureaucracy who were the doers. The mayor thought that 'decentralisation' was a very good thing that the government gave more for the public to do. Things, thereby, were done easier these days. In the end, he offered to make arrangements for me anywhere if there was anything that I wanted to see. He called his secretary in to tell us details of his mobile province project schedule. Then, on Wednesday April 20th, accompanied him having Oon, my assistant, also came along. Then, on the following day, we met the mayor's team at a secondary school for a morning briefing. All officials wore uniforms with their rank attached to theirs shoulders by way of epaulets. One of the officials led us to a round table so that we could have breakfast with them. Soon, about 70 people were in the room waiting for the mayor to begin. At 8.30 am, the mayor started; but, those present were too busy talking among themselves. Even so, the mayor spoke for a few minutes and then left to attend another gathering, but would join us later at the same site. After, other officials took turns talking to the room full of people who, most of the time, continued to talk among themselves. In the main, it seemed that the people in attendance were trying to do was to get people to pay attention to what they were doing, and try to explain how this might affect them because each department could help one another. This process went on until 9 am and it was agreed at that time to move the gathering to the site at Wat Na Boon, a temple.

It took us less than 10 minutes to get to the temple and, then, we wandered around. There were over 100 officials joining the promotional caravan to service the villagers. Among the services provided were veterinarian services, health care, an agricultural and fishery clinic, a barber, and a cultural board presentation. The mobile province project concept was designed to bring main public services to a particular place for the purposes of use and promotion.

I talked to some villagers in relation to how they were informed about the promotional caravan from the province. I learned that they were informed by newsletter. One lady thought that I was one of the official team members from the province and she walked up to me and told that her kid didn't know that he needed to wear the student uniform to receive free education benefits such as a uniform and stationery, on the day, and at the event,. I took her to talk to a man in a uniform whom I had remembered from the morning briefing, and he was introduced as someone holding an important position. Soon after, he repeatedly told the lady that didn't she know her son needed to wear a uniform to obtain benefits. She said she didn't know of it. The officer said, "Do you live near here? Can you go back home and dress him up?" In reply, she said "I rowed the boat here quite a distant". I suggested, "Can she borrow the uniform from another kid around here?" He said "It's a good solution", and then continued with "Can you get a village headman or a teacher to confirm that he's a student?". The lady then went to ask a male teacher for help. She came back to me and said, "I have to row back home to get my son's uniform, and the teacher doesn't help us". Throughout this exchange, the particular officer seemed so distant and very impersonal. It was obvious that village people came this far to use the services being promoted by the province, but were pushed back home to follow the rules made by the officials.

At about 20 minutes before 10 that morning, the mayor returned, and the ceremony started. In line with Thai traditions, the mayor lit a candle and burnt incense sticks to give respect to the Buddha image there, and saluted images of the king and queen. The spokesman continued by introducing a many officials. The governor talked for a few minutes, and the spokesman again introduced more officials. Then, the mayor talked. It was not easy to listen. Mainly, there were three groups of people, there being the officials, senior citizens, and young primary school students with members

of the latter group sitting on the chairs and talking among themselves, loudly at that. The senior citizens seemed bored, too, even though each wore a yellow T-shirt given to

them when they registered to receive services and giveaway items. Still, it must be said that the senior citizens received nothing if they did not wear their yellow T-shirt.

After the mayor spoke, two more mayors talked; but, these two spoke only for a short time, and this meant that it was easier for people there to listen. Eventually, the formal occasion was closed at 11am. We began to leave and, while walking away, we heard someone else speaking for far too long and giving out too much information for attendees who, generally were old, or very young. I determined that people there might be listening, but I didn't think that they heard everything that was told.

Here, once again, the process or the plan related to the project was not appropriate. The talks and introductions were lengthy, and these bored people. The official I mentioned above didn't want to help people. People did not ask for anything more. This is what I learned from that site visit.

Nakorn Sawan

On Monday 21st 2005, I had an arrangement to meet with a deputy mayor of the province. On Tuesday 22nd, in the morning, I went to the Kaow Leaw district, and met with a bailiff. In the afternoon, I met with a provincial police commander.

The deputy mayor was well-educated and had a great deal of experience in his work. He was born in Bangkok, but had served as an official in many other parts of Thailand. He realised the importance of familiarization with locals and their culture in order to succeed in implementing official business with these people. He suggested that newcomers to the local scene could use advice, as to what to do and not to do, which was available from drivers who were local. Certainly, some experience and tactics were needed to get along with local officials or villagers, and these were taught in the administrative college where officials received training.

During my next trip, I met with the police commander who was quite different from others. He was funny and loud. We had lunch with him and his people. His subordinates call him “boss” and they employ a formal approach when they come in to talk. Comparing the meetings held with the major or deputy major indicated that these were very different from talking to the commander. Talking to the mayor feels more comfortable. I think that is because they are not the uniform type, even though the commander wasn’t wearing his uniform when we met. Another reason is that people who go to the police usually have some problems. In comparison, one of the deputy commanders had worked at the central department before moving to this province, and he had also spent some time in Kentucky. He has a different look from that of the commander. I felt more comfortable talking to this person; but, we only talked for a short while, and only to be polite. Yet, the commander does not seem to have any problem communicating with villagers. He said that all people were just the same, and that they want to be treated in a polite and respectful way. However, these people advised me to observe interactions between police and villagers at the police stations, and that I might find something interesting by doing so.

All the mayors with whom I talked to made me realise that communications between them are different from speaking with villagers. The mayors tried to use simple words when communicating with villagers and, sometimes, use different pronunciation to become acquainted with them. In this regard, speaking a villager’s dialect is of particular benefit in that the speaker and listener feel as if they are a part of the same group. I did not find anything of much interest from meeting with the police commander. However, I did notice that characteristics of the deputy police commander were different from that of the commander in relation to the way he spoke, and the words used, during the conversation. I came to the conclusion that police officers will not be included as respondents in my main study. This is supported by the fact that provincial administrative officers are the main sources of social and economic development information, and they are the ones who work closely with locals in the implement of government policies.

3. Language in Practice

Tape recordings of the interviews and conversations were all transcribed and translated from Thai to English. The transcripts were coded using Atlas ti. computer

software supporting the coding and categorizing for the interview transcripts while the conversation transcripts were coded by hand.

4.7.3 Data Analysis

1. Theory

Interviews: Data Analysis Method

The grounded theory approach was selected for this study. Grounded theory is an attempt to address the context of discovery issue, although the assumption is never stated explicitly (Miller and Fredericks 1999). Indeed, the very concept of a grounded theory is based on the idea that the development of formulating such a theory involves a discoverable process. It appears that such a process includes a set of procedures that, if carried out correctly, contributes towards theory development. As the researcher collects data, the process of data analysis begins. In fact, an image for data collection in a grounded theory study is a “zigzag” process, with this representing the actions of going out to the field to gather information, then analyse the data, before going back to the field to gather more information, then analyse the data, and so forth (Miller and Fredericks 1999).

Table 4.3 Data Analysis and Representation by Research Tradition

Data Analysis and Representation by Research Tradition	
Data Analysis and Representation	Grounded Theory Study
Data Managing	Create and organize files for data
Reading, Memoing	Read through text, make margin notes, form initial codes
Describing	-
Classifying	Engage in axial coding—causal condition, context, intervening conditions, strategies, consequences Engage in open coding—categories, properties, dimensionalize properties
Interpreting	Engage in selective coding and development of stories Develop a conditional matrix
Representing, Visualizing	Present a visual model or theory Present propositions

(after Creswell, 1998, p148-9)

Qualitative data analysis is a process of coding, categorizing, reassemble data and reconstruct the data in the meaningful or comprehensible fashion; which that closely examined, compared for similarities and differences, and questions are asked about

the phenomena as reflected in the data (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, p.62,). It is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data; it builds grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1997). The process of data analysis in grounded theory research is systematic and follows a standard format (Creswell, 1998, p. 57).

The process of coding data occurs during data collection so that the researcher can focus on what additional data to collect that will be able to contribute towards theory building. It, typically, begins with the identification of open coding categories and the use of a constant comparative approach to compare data to incidents and then compare incidents to categories until a category is saturated; the analysis process is the following:

In vivo Coding The transcript is read and the researcher can find what was said and select words or sentences by way of coding. The categories will be decided later; it is data-led analysis, and no categories are pre-set.

Open Coding The researcher forms initial categories of information about the phenomenon being studied, doing so by segmenting information. Within each category, the investigator finds several properties, or subcategories, and looks for data to dimensionalise, or to show the extreme possibilities on a continuum of the particular property characterising a category.

Axial Coding The investigator assembles data in new ways, and does so after open coding. This is presented using a coding paradigm, or logic diagram, in which the researcher identifies a central phenomenon (i.e., a central category about the phenomenon), explores a causal condition (i.e., categories of conditions that influence the phenomenon), specifies strategies (i.e., the actions or interactions that result from the central phenomenon), identifies the context and intervening conditions (i.e., the narrow and broad conditions that influence the strategies), and delineates the consequences (i.e., the outcomes of strategies) for this phenomenon.

Selective Coding The researcher identifies a ‘story line’, and then writes a story that integrates the categories in the axial coding model. Conditional propositions (or hypotheses) are typically presented.

2. Practice

Interviews: Data Analysis Method

Tape recordings were reviewed. Interviews were transcribed and analysed for meaning, and this was done using in vivo coding and protocols for any semi-structured interview, as follows:

Unit of analysis	- utterance
In vivo coding	- utterance as a code
Categorisation	- codes in larger categories of meaning
Constant comparison	- constant interrogation of data, looking for contrary evidence and re-assessment of categories
Theoretical sensitivity-	being prepared to access new literature as directed by findings.

3. Theory

Recorded conversations: Data Analysis Method

The interviews are tape recorded and transcribed. The transcript is prepared for analysis at a later stage. However, conversation transcripts are done in different way from the interview transcripts. As Silverman (2002) explains, it is to work back and forth through the transcript to see how the puzzle arises and is resolved, doing so since the study is inductive. (Silverman, 2000) also advises that the analysis is ‘data-driven’, meaning that it is developed from phenomena that are, in various ways, evidenced in the data interaction. In conclusion, the empirical conduct of speakers is treated as the central resource, out of which analysis may develop.

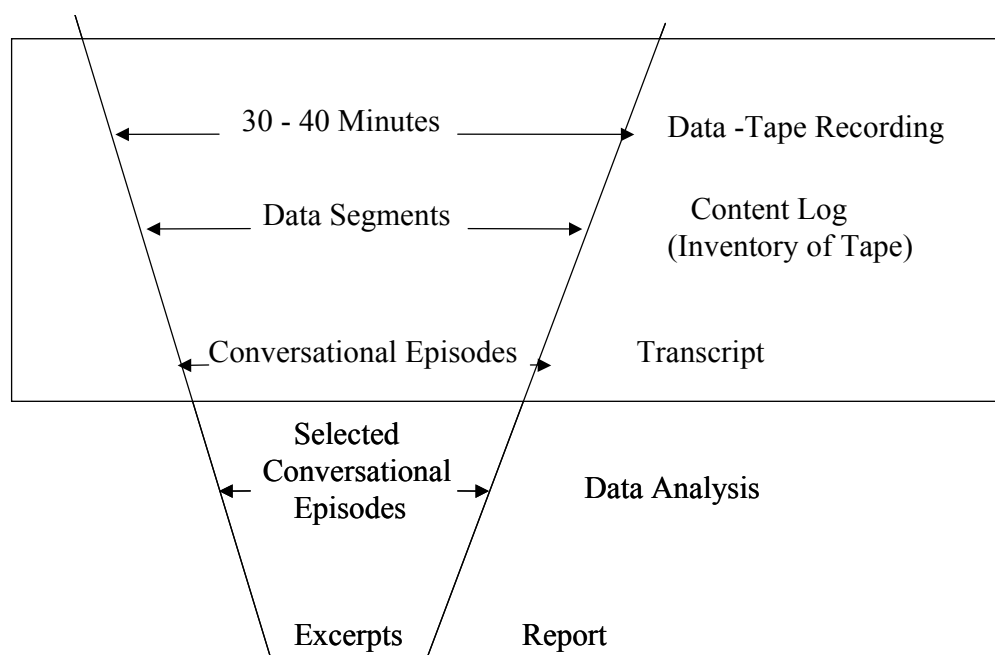
4. Practice

Recorded conversations: Data Analysis Method

It is neither necessary, nor normal practice, to transcribe the whole of the conversation tape. Only some excerpts might be chosen if found to be of interest for further study. The tapes will be listened to thoroughly, sifting what is heard and, finally, selecting the excerpts. This process is to be repeated for all the tapes.

The practice of analysing recorded tapes, and selecting excerpts for discourse analysis, is illustrated in figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 The Transcription Process in Practice



(Whiteley, 2002)

4.8 Data Management

1. Theory

Data management is the operation needed for a systematic, coherent process of data storage and retrieval (Huberman and Miles, 1998, p.180). These operations are aimed at ensuring: (1) high-quality, accessible data; (2) documentation of what analyses are

carried out; and, (3) retention of data and associated analyses after the study is completed (Huberman and Miles, 1998, p.180; Ryan and Bernard, 2000).

Data management is also the final, essential stage of ensuring rigour in qualitative research.

A research design is a connecting device. It connects the philosophical, procedural, practical and representational elements of the research process. The aim is to engage with activities that answer the research question ... At once the research design must produce an *audit trail* so that others can follow the research activities and a *more personal learning trail* so that the researcher is constantly part of a 'becoming' process of learning .

(Whiteley, 2004).

2. Practice

Atlast.ti is a powerful tool for qualitative analysis involving large bodies of textual, graphical, audio and video data. Such sophisticated tools help researchers to arrange, reassemble, and manage material in creative, yet systematic ways. This type of software also assists the researcher during the analysis process in managing data, as well as when categorizing, grouping, and combining categories. It offers various types of data management and forms of presentation of the findings, such as tables, text, or maps. Atlas ti was used to analyse and keep records of interview data.

Conversation data, recorded in Thai, is on tape and available for further use. These tapes were used for discourse analysis using to the method described above. The researcher kept an audit trail that shows the development of this research, and the ways in which it adapted to practical circumstances. An extract from the personal learning trail is included in the section on *Interviewing in Practice* above under the title **Immersion: A Personal Account**.

Chapter 5

Findings

5.1 Introduction to the Findings

One of the unique features and challenges of this study was to produce a research environment where two distinct, and very different, groups of people have allowed dialogue and conversations to be recorded. The data from the associated meetings offers unique and invaluable insight into the research question. Therefore, as much detail as possible was provided to give substance to the discussion, and also to give guidance for a future research agenda.

Presentation of the Findings

The research question for this study was:

What are the communication practices of Thai government officials and villagers?

The previous chapters have completed the three research objectives:

1. To conduct preliminary field work in order to define the research procedures;
2. To discover the prevalent discourse of Thai villagers;
3. To discover the prevalent discourse of Thai officials; and,

The fourth and final research objective was **to compare discourse practices of Thai villagers and officials, with this culminating in a discussion of possible barriers and opportunities to improve mutual understanding.**

In this chapter, the findings will be presented as the outcome of data collection and analysis carried out in the field, as described in the methodology in Chapter 4.

The findings are presented in three parts:

Part 1 Semi-structured interviews with **officials** recorded, transcribed and analysed using Atlas ti. (content analysis).

Part 2 Semi-structured interviews with **villagers** recorded, transcribed and analysed using Atlas ti. (content analysis).

Part 3 Recordings of conversations **between officials and villagers, and between villagers** (analysed using discourse analysis pattern analysis).

5.2 Part 1 Officials

In these interviews, officials were asked nine questions. They replied freely and their responses were recorded. In the interview parts, after the tape records were transcribed, the corpus which responded with or related to the semi-structure interview questions were selected to code and later were grouped to categories using Atlas.ti software to manage the theme.

Significant parts from the interview of the recordings were entered into Atlas ti for analysis. The objective was to understand how officials worked when meeting with villagers, and how they saw their role in these meetings.

The results which follow show network maps of this analysis. Selected statements by individual officials are used to illustrate each network map. This is followed by a comment from the researcher and the comments made by the participants. This findings section will be presented by a sequence of research questions. These questions focus on the following:

- 1) How is the meeting patterns usually organised and conducted; formal or informal?
- 2) On what occasion the meeting will be called and how often are meetings called?
- 3) What pattern of communication applied? (formal or informal)
- 4) What language (or dialect) is spoken in the meeting; whether the official language or terms are spoken?
- 5) How the information is rechecked or monitored for mutual understanding?
- 6) How good is the co-operation between the officials and villagers?
- 7) Do the officials have opportunities to work or perform some activities autonomously?
- 8) What are those worries or concerns your working environment or society?

Before reading about the findings in detail, the following section should provide main ideas what was found from respondents responded to the research interview questions:

QF1: Patterns of communication

A meeting is normally the practice to communicate among officials, as well as in relation to villagers. However, arranging a meeting at the local level, between officials and villagers, and any related communication, is left to the local leaders. An official meeting usually has a set schedule, is at least monthly and, most of the time, the pattern is formal. Even so, the meeting is conducted in accordance with a set as agenda.

In general, a meeting of officials, and a meeting of villagers are similar in style and have the same objective, which is to foster understanding between the groups.

However, the information content passed on from the officials to the villagers is screened in order to make it, and related topics, relevant to them, such as highlighting infrastructure and the community plan. In contrast, the content discussed among the officials is concerned with administrative operations.

Local meetings seem to be less formal, in terms of the language spoken, and the leaders are local and acquainted with the villagers. Any document is not usually distributed to the villagers in the meeting. Yet, the meeting is still run by way of agendas.

It is also noteworthy that messages discussed among the officials, and from the officials to villagers, are informative and top-down in nature.

QF2: Occasion of Meeting

As described in QF1: Pattern of meeting, a local official is responsible for informing villagers of news and projects relevant to them and, therefore, each village sets its own meeting schedule by considering the time and place necessary to suit villagers' convenience. Generally, a monthly meeting is scheduled, while other places might call a meeting only when the local leaders consider that they have important issues to discuss or announce. Otherwise, from the villagers' perspective, a meeting will be seen as time consuming and wasteful.

QF3: Communication Pattern

Official uses several ways to disseminate news and information to the villagers, and so no single mode of communication is used. Between government units, the districts are a pool of information that is used to disseminate information to local

leaders. The officials call a meeting for the local leaders to hear what to tell the villagers, and the local leaders may use the broadcasting tower (a high tower built and equipped with the speaker so that people in the village can hear the announcement from afar) to announce any news, call a meeting, or to send messages through community network.

QF4: Language Spoken

The central dialect is widely spoken and understood by both the officials and locals. However, the villagers indicate that local leaders explain government policy and projects to them in the local dialect and try to make it simple for them to understand. The officials, sometimes, can speak the local tongue, but admit that the technical terms, sometimes, are not easy for the villagers to understand. The officials also realize they do use too many academic terms.

QF5: Monitoring and Rechecking

On the official side, monitoring, rechecking correctness and understanding are in the administrative system, as well as in regulations, and process of the administration. There are also several government units that are responsible for these functions, especially to monitor budgeted spending. Key performance indicators are also set to monitor and evaluate the performance of official. There are several accessible channels of communication by which villagers can complain, such as a mailbox and a webpage that is linked directly to the Prime Minister.

Daily operations for an official involve rechecking understanding, and work progress, and this can be done by way of a report provided by team members.

In meetings and forums, villagers today ask questions when they have doubts or disagreements. However, generally, many villagers, as well as local leaders, keep a low profile.

A large band of the officials coming out to visit villagers does not have much chance for any question and answer session since many officials have much to say about themselves. Such an event turns out to be a showcase whereby villagers will be given free stuff.

QF6: Cooperation

The officials report that most villagers are cooperative; however, there are some villagers that do not want to participate. The supports that officials offer villagers are in form of funds, exhibitions, career training, and advising which activities are interesting to villagers.

Nevertheless, officials realize that they have limited time and they understand that any development job cannot set timeframe because the readiness of village people in each area is different.

QF7: Autonomous

Officials see that the villagers have opportunities to initiate projects to serve their community since the 9th NESD plan seeks the participation of all to take part in community management. Therefore, in a sense, villagers can work with their members autonomously. On the other hand, officials have limited authorization, and a problem may be handed to a higher authority in order to solve it.

The grassroots seem to have more opportunities to exert some control over their community. But, they do need to follow regulations set by the government.

QF8: Worries and Concerns

Even though the decentralisation has been promoted and implemented but the senior officials point out that today the departmental head office and the central government still hold most authorities and decision; while all progress is achieved at the district level. The officials believe that most officials in head office departments and units are afraid of losing power. This means that it is less likely to see any authority decentralised to the region; and, the CEO Governor has no real power.

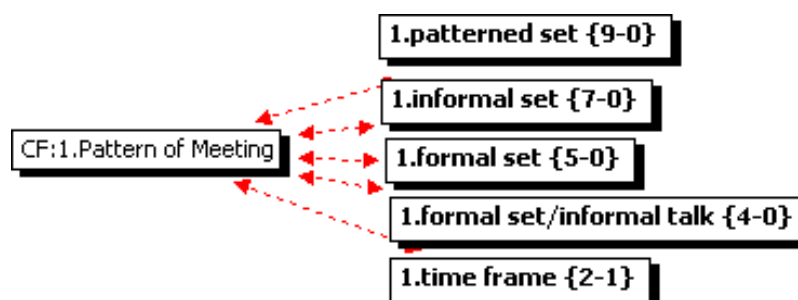
Budgeted funding is also a limitation in trying to give service to villagers and when attempting to undertake development work. As seen by the officials, the budgetary system seems to be more complicated.

The Tambon Administrative Organisation (TAO) penalises officials for their performance toward villagers if it is below expectation, such as if only infrastructure was developed and the villager quality of life is underdeveloped.

Officials are concern about the education of the local leaders as it is not enough to cope with present day demands. Clearly, the role of local leaders is important to the villagers in encouraging them to join community activities. Yet, the economy has declined, and this can result in a higher cost of living for the villagers. An agricultural career is seen as providing a low return, and this makes people turn to other career choices that pay them more. Also, society has changed in favour of materialism and consumerism. Young people's values about living in society have also deteriorated.

This section explains in detail of the finding pertaining to the research questions.

QF1: Patterns of the meeting

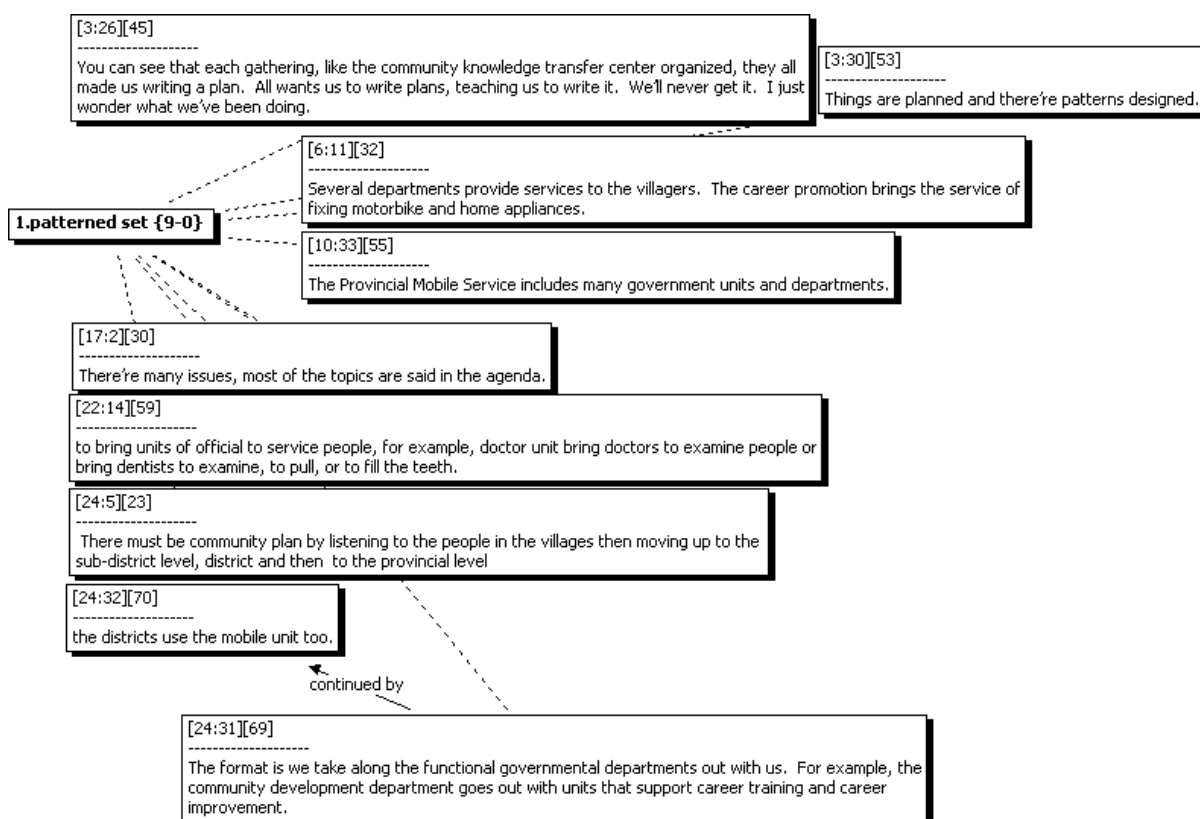


Patterns of the meeting: There are 3 main official levels that usually call meetings: Provincial meeting hosts by governor that include chief districts, District level meeting hosts by the chief district which the meeting invites all Subdistrict headmen, Subdistrict headman hosts a meeting that has the village headmen attend. In short, the Provincial meeting is to cascade policies and order in the meeting to the lower level to pass on the information to the lower levels.

District level and Subdistrict level borrow the meeting format or patterns from Provincial level in organizing a meeting to its level. Meeting is usually formal and meeting agenda and document is prepared before meeting conduct. In contrast, when looking at the local scenario, a Subdistrict headman and a village headman may include all villagers in the community meeting or only call in those who are the villagers' representatives. A common feature of an official's meeting is to pass on information from one layer to lower level related to the chain of command. Five themes under Pattern of Meeting surfaced from the information and these are presented below:

- 1) Pattern set,
- 2) Informal set,
- 3) Formal set,
- 4) Formal set/informal talk, and
- 5) Time frame.

1. Patterned set



Pattern set: The government officials seem to have the pattern of meeting or gather in advance and expect that the lower level officials to follow. For example, the mobile unit was started at the Provincial level to go out to meet with the villager to tell the policies and give service to the villagers who joined the gathering. Later, the district replicates the same mobile unit to its areas that villagers are asked to join again. It is a form of redundancy. This is the pattern that local borrow to its area. Also, projects and activities to include the villagers' participation seem to start with writing a plan which the local leaders do not understand why they have to learn writing the plan but they comply for what they were told to do.

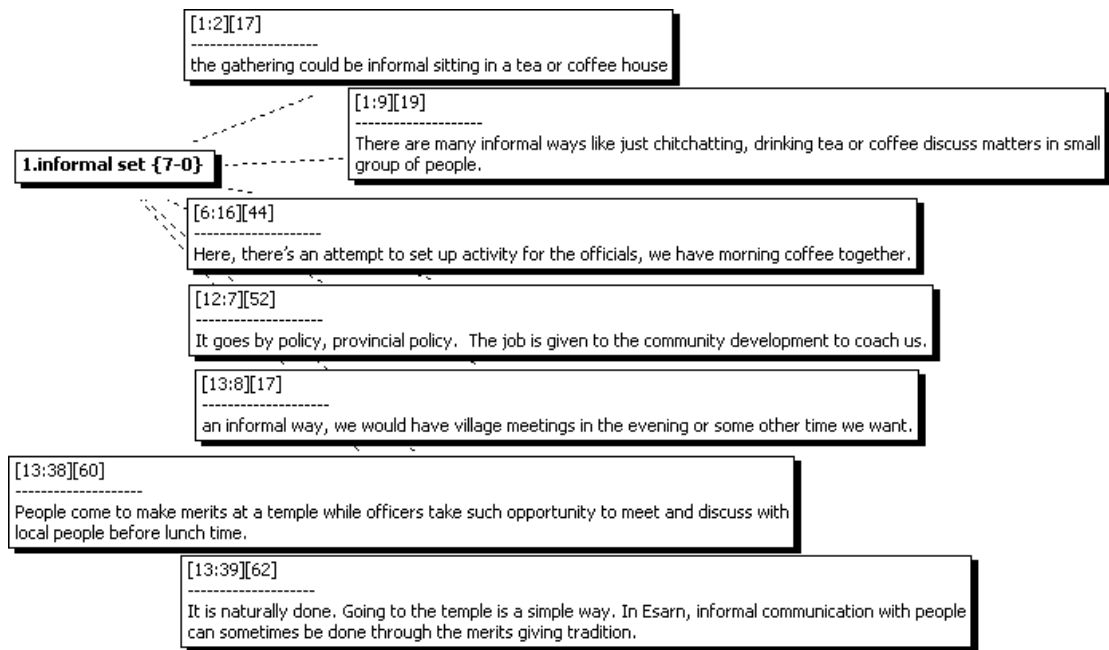
The above theme is supported by the following comments. . Double slash signs (//) are used to separate each quote from different participants:

You can see that at each gathering, like the community knowledge transfer centre that was organised, they all made us write a plan. All of them want us to write plans, teaching us to write it. We'll never get it. I just wonder what we've been doing // The province has a monthly meeting, and the mobile unit, and the governor opens the ceremony and he tells me to be there. ...The locals

use this opportunity to express their problems to the governor and assistant governor, well as the department heads who are there.Several departments provide services to the villagers. The career promotion brings forth the service of fixing motorbikes and home appliances // There're many issues, most of the topics are in the agenda // ...to give four basic needs to them, like medicine and clothes ...to hear their problems about their living, security, safety, lacking of food, fertilizer, and electricity, transportation, we'll listen to them and then delegate tasks to the units.

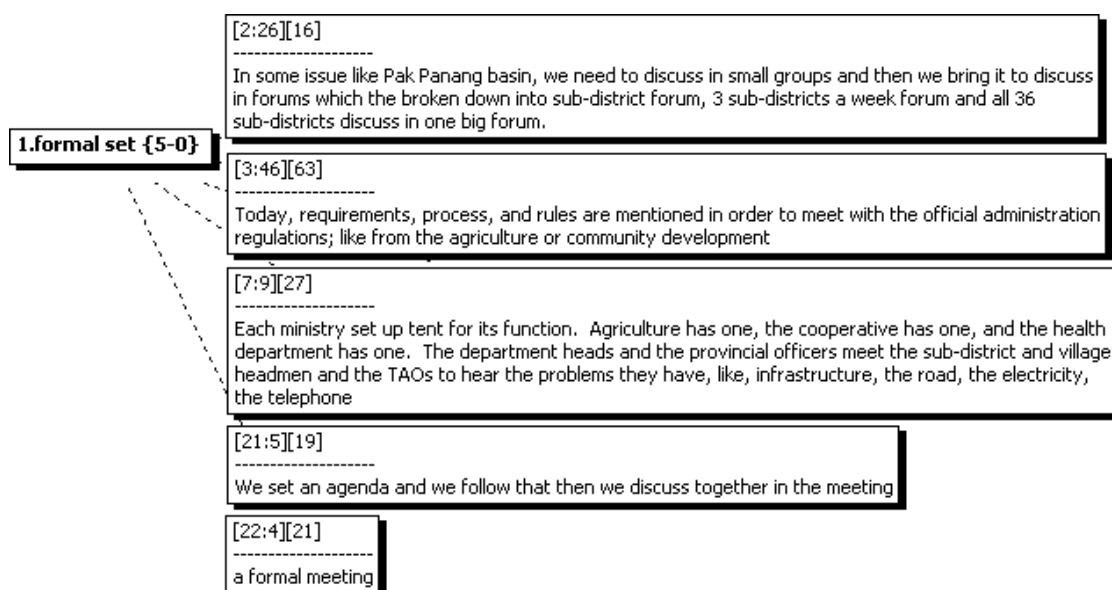
...to bring units of officials to service people; for example, the medical unit bring doctors to examine people or brings dentists to examine, pull, or to fill teeth // The province is trying to encourage participation from every part. In order to do that, the districts must do their parts by bringing in every part of their own sectors, from the bottom up. ... There must be a community plan that can be formed by listening to people in the villages and, then, moving up to the sub-district level, the district and then to the provincial level//

2. Informal set



Informal set: The officials use any opportunity to meet with villagers and this results in the officials and the villagers feeling less distance between them. For example, the officials go to local gatherings, such as a religious day at a temple. The officials can in these situations meet large crowds of people, join activities, and have discussions, in person, at lunchtime. Another example is that the officials may join villagers at local coffee or tea houses where the villagers usually get together in a group. In some provinces, it is common that officials have morning coffee to discuss informally among other officials. This theme is supported by the following comments//..the gathering could be an informal sitting in a tea or coffee house.// The paper work and formality decreases. People connect directly when in a coffee gathering. Here, there's an attempt to set up an activity for the officials, and we have morning coffee together.// It is done naturally. Going to the temple is a simple way. In Esarn, informal communication with people can sometimes be done through traditional merit-giving ceremonies.

3. Formal



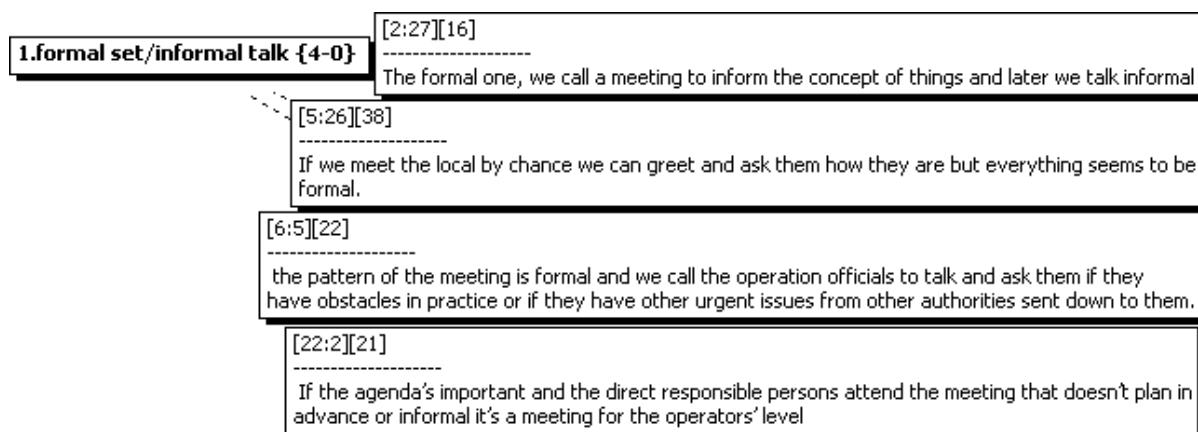
Formal set: The officials usually have an agenda planned beforehand, and the meeting is conducted in line with that agenda. Meeting formats are alike in all the official units; and the provincial meeting procedure is adopted at the district and local levels. One of the officials explained that, not only is the agenda of the meeting preset, but other requirements from the government must be followed, otherwise local units will be qualify to receive budgeted funds.

Excerpts to support provided as the following:

In some situations, like in the Pak Panang basin, we need to discuss issues in small groups and then we bring them to discuss in other, such as the sub-district forum, 3 sub-districts forum and all 36 sub-districts so that we can discuss issues in one large forum.// But, it doesn't work that way because villagers must follow exactly the official's way; otherwise, we are unable to receive the budgeted funds.//At a meeting on that day, one about knowledge management project, I asked the CEO of Governor's budget for 280,000 baht. I learned that the CEO's budget had gone because it was already allocated for specific projects. Today, requirements, processes, and rules are mentioned in order to meet with official administration regulations; as with agricultural or community development.//Each ministry set up tent for its own purposes. Agriculture has one, the cooperative has one, and the health department has one. The department heads and the provincial officers meet the sub-district and village headmen and the TAOs to hear the problems they have,

like infrastructure, road, electricity, telephone.//We set an agenda and we follow that.
Then, we discuss the agenda items together in the meeting.//

4. Formal set/informal talk

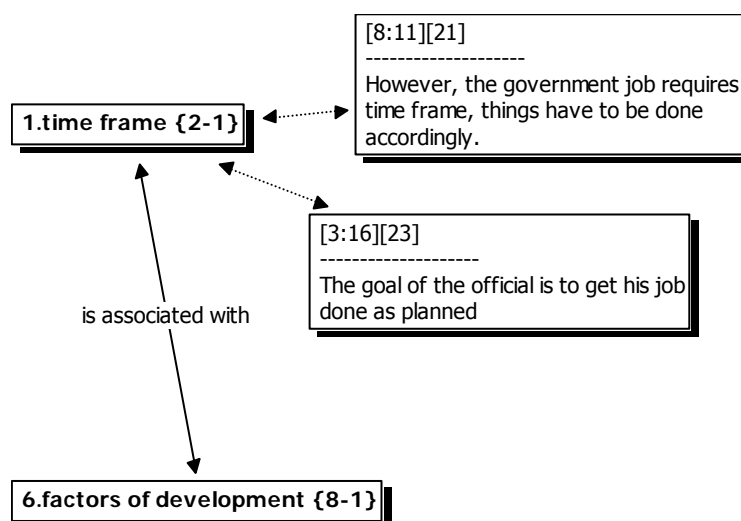


Formal set/informal talk The meeting is organised and the agenda is set, and the official follows the agenda. A person who has direct interest in a particular topic will be asked to discuss it in the meeting. However, in between any official discussion, there is informal talk, even though the setting seems organised and planned.

This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

For the formal one, we call a meeting to inform people about the concept of things and, later, we talk informally// If we meet the locals by chance, we can greet and ask them how they are; but, everything seems to be formal.//The pattern of the meeting is formal and we call in the operation officials to talk and to ask them if they have obstacles in carrying out their work, or if they have other urgent issues due to what other authorities have sent down to them.//

5. Time frame



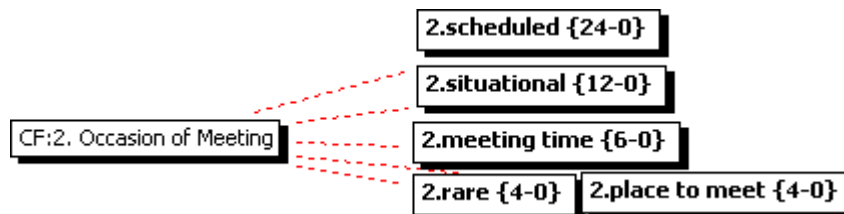
Time frame: Time frame or deadline is usually set for the government officials in performing each task or project. Consequently, the officials rush the process to the end instead of allowing some time for the villagers to think and discuss among themselves to gain a collective agreement concerning community development. The officials worry that they cannot finish the process in time. Therefore, they tend to cut corners guiding the villagers to what is the best for them to do, as observed by villagers. Having done so, the officials miss the point of grassroots' participation in community development.

The dimension above is reinforced by the following comments:

...while the fertilizer plant goal is not just made for the sake of having done it. We're expecting to decrease costs, increase income, distribute income, and increase employment. ...The officials always move; but, the villagers are there forever. That's the difference. It's quite difficult, therefore, for us to achieve success... The goal of the official is to get his job done as planned.//...to strengthen the village, we can't put a timeframe in place because the nature of making people rely on themselves takes time, like with organisational development. However, any government job requires a timeframe, and related tasks must be done accordingly.

Question2: In what occasion will meetings be called and how often are meetings called?

QF2: Occasion of meetings

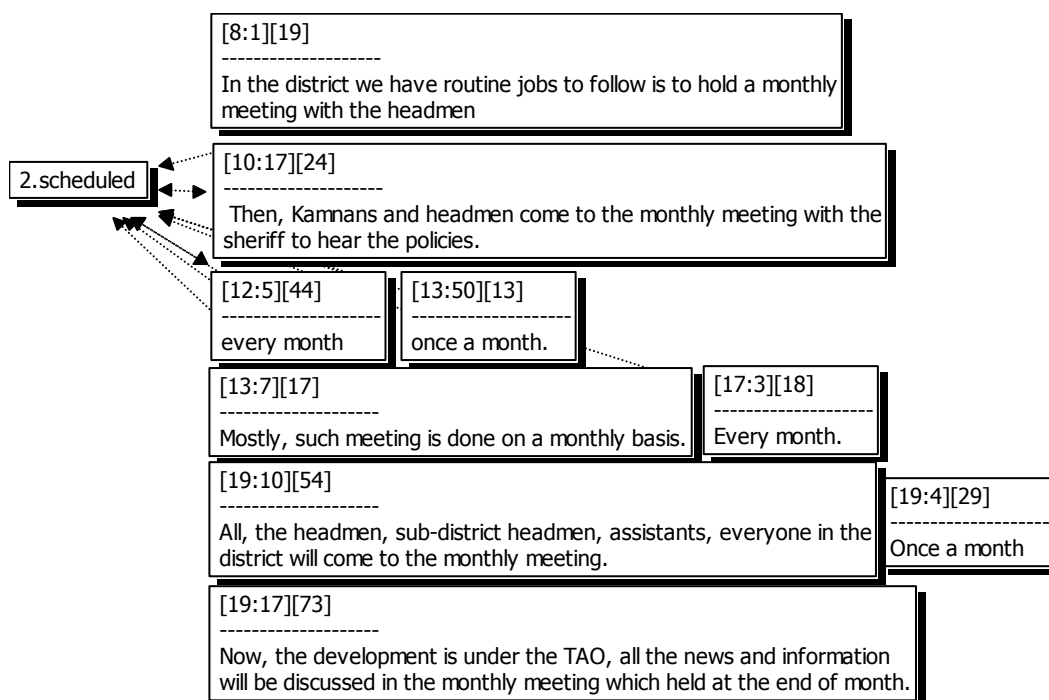
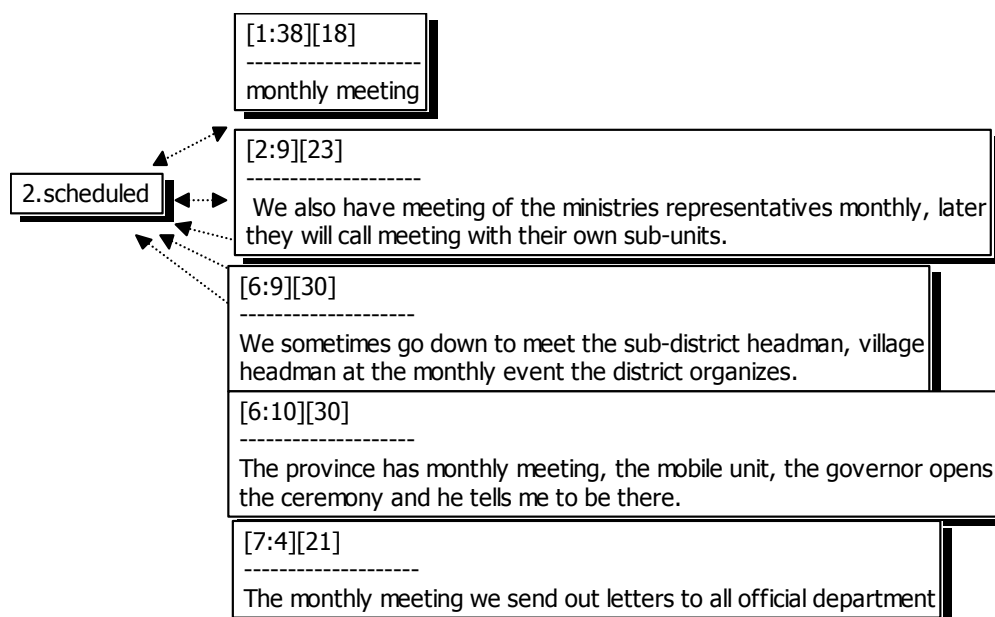


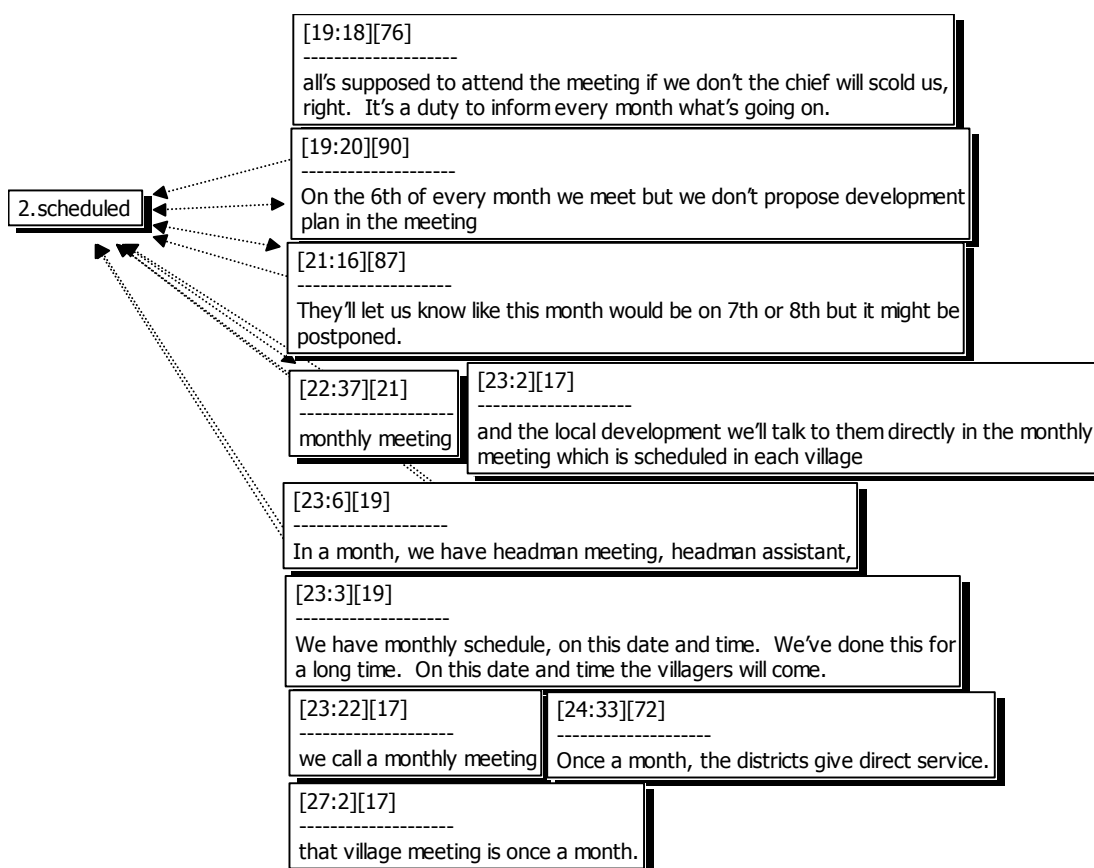
Occasion of meetings: The occasion of a meeting is left with each local area so that the local leaders can alternate the meeting time to fit in with the villagers' convenience. Some areas agree to meet in the evening after the completion of house chores and responsibilities with the family. In the south, villagers prefer to meet after working in the rubber field so that their available time is between 9am to noon.

The time of a meeting will be called upon at the villagers' convenience after the completion of their routines or house chores, where different areas set different time of meeting. In some areas where there are Muslims, an appropriate time is after they finish praying. The local leaders usually acquaint themselves with their villagers therefore they know the appropriate time to call for a meeting. Otherwise, the first meeting will vote for the most convenient time and then set a meeting schedule. Five meeting themes are per the following:

- 1) Scheduled,
- 2) Situational,
- 3) Meeting time,
- 4) Rare, and
- 5) Place to meet.

- 1) **Scheduled** This category is broken into 3 maps since there is a great deal of information under this category.



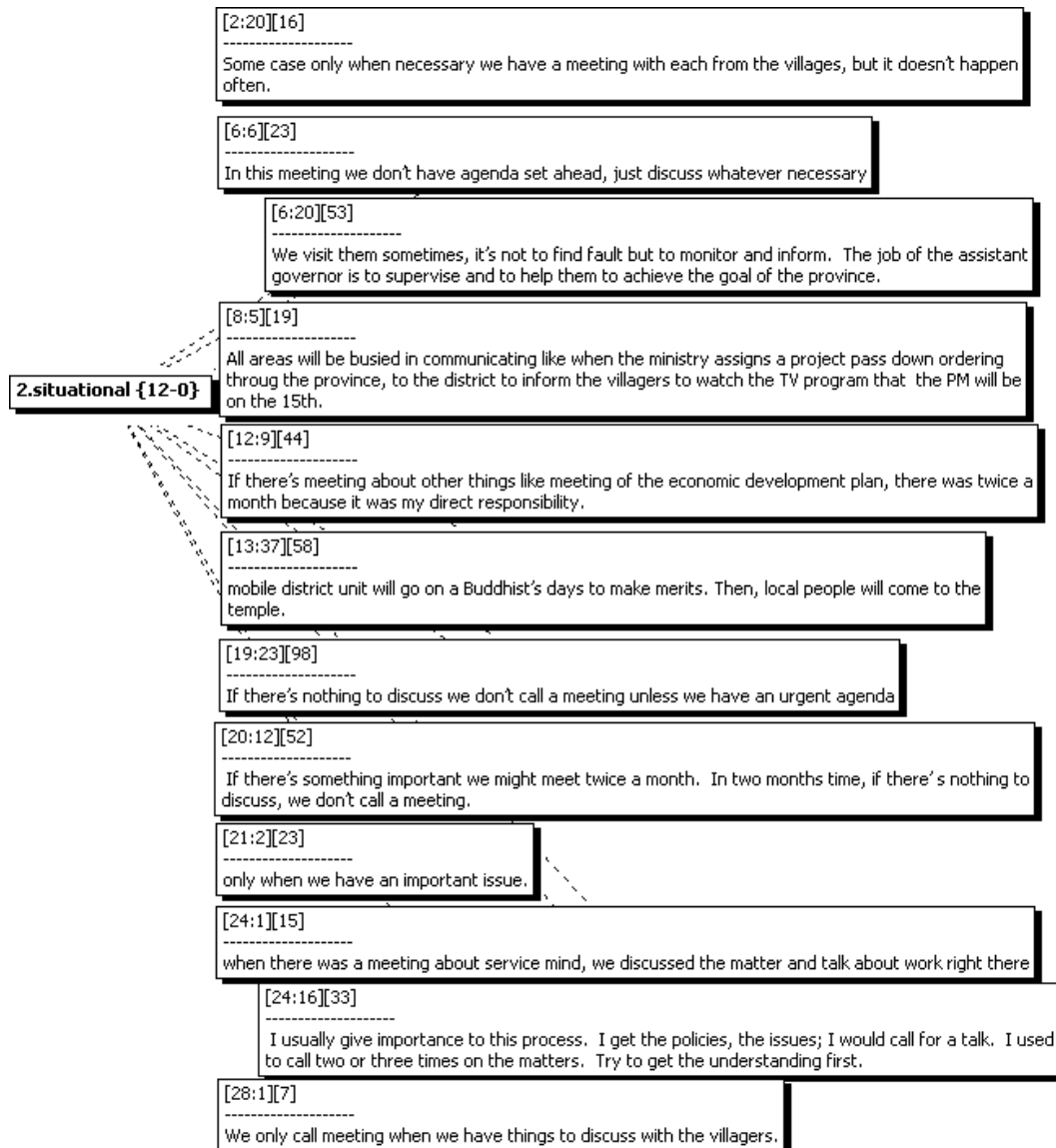


Scheduled Most meetings were scheduled monthly to discuss and follow up on routine jobs; there, usually, were set once a month so that the district chief officer met the sub-district headmen and village headmen. The Tambon Administrative Organisation-TAO also set its own monthly meeting.

Below are the excerpts to support the above dimension:

We also have a meeting of the ministries representatives monthly. Later, they will call a meeting with their own sub-units.//We sometimes go down to meet the sub-district headman and village headman, doing that at a monthly event that the district organizes.// For the monthly meeting, we send out letters to all official departments.//Mostly, such a meeting is done on a monthly basis.//All, the headmen, sub-district headmen, assistants, and everyone in the district, will come to the monthly meeting.//We have a monthly schedule, on this particular date and time. We've done this for a long time. On this date and time the villagers will come.

2. Situational



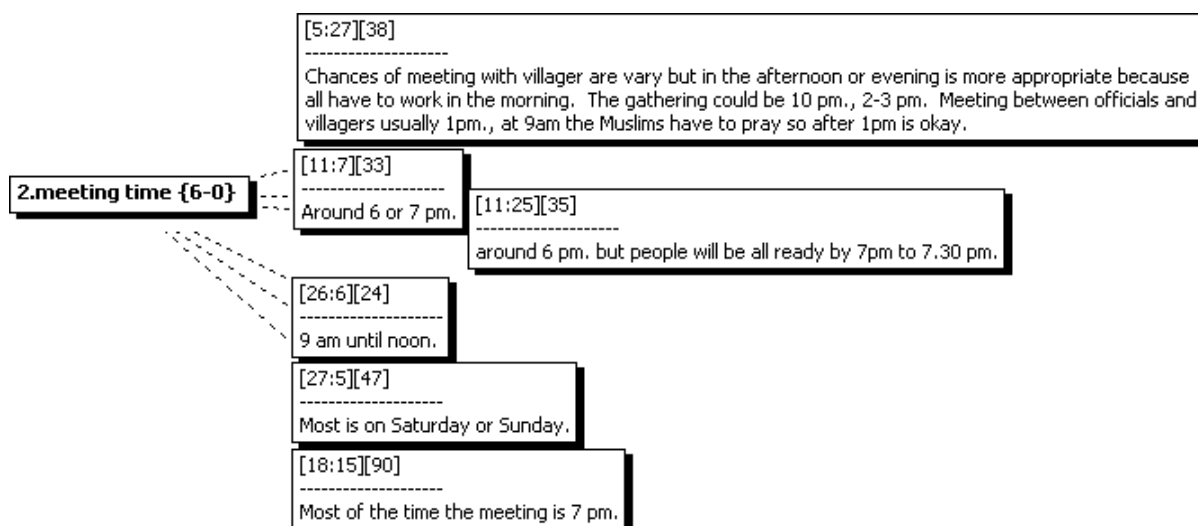
Situational: In some cases, important meetings could be called that was outside of any regular schedule. For example, when it was time for the community plan would have to be submitted, officials might need to meet with villagers to coach them the process. On some occasions, such as Buddhist days, the locals' gathered and officials could join these events and take this opportunity to provide information to villagers.

This is clearly demonstrated via the following excerpts:

In some case, only when necessary, we have a meeting with people from the villages, but it doesn't happen often.// In this meeting, we don't have an agenda set ahead of time, but just discuss whatever is necessary.//All areas will be busy communicating,

like when the ministry assigns a project and passes it down through the province, to the district so as to inform villagers to watch a TV program that features the Prime Minister who will be on the 15th of the month.//If there's nothing to discuss, then we don't call a meeting unless we have an urgent agenda item.//

3. Meeting time

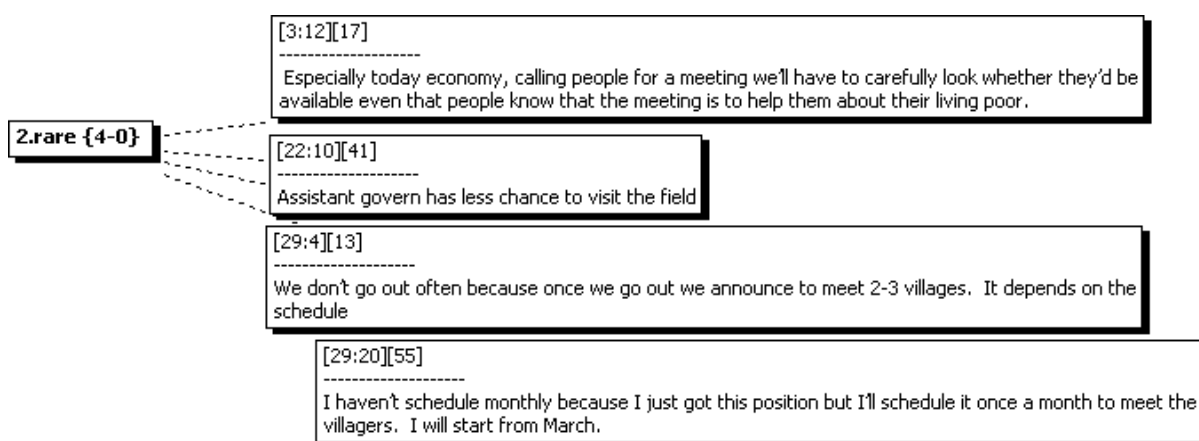


Meeting time the time to call a meeting was different from place to place. It depended upon the of villagers' convenience. In the south where people worked in the rubber field from 9 am to 12 was appropriate for a meeting while other areas in the evening after they finished their house chores after 6 pm which seemed to be agreeable.

The following is the excerpts of the above dimension:

The chances of meeting with villagers vary. But, the afternoon or evening is more appropriate because all have to work in the morning. The gathering could be 10 pm., 2-3 pm. Meeting between officials and villagers usually 1pm. At 9am the Muslims have to pray so after 1pm is okay.// ..around 6 pm. But people will be all ready by 7pm to 7.30 pm.// Most is on Saturday or Sunday.//

4. Rare in some area it is hard to call meeting

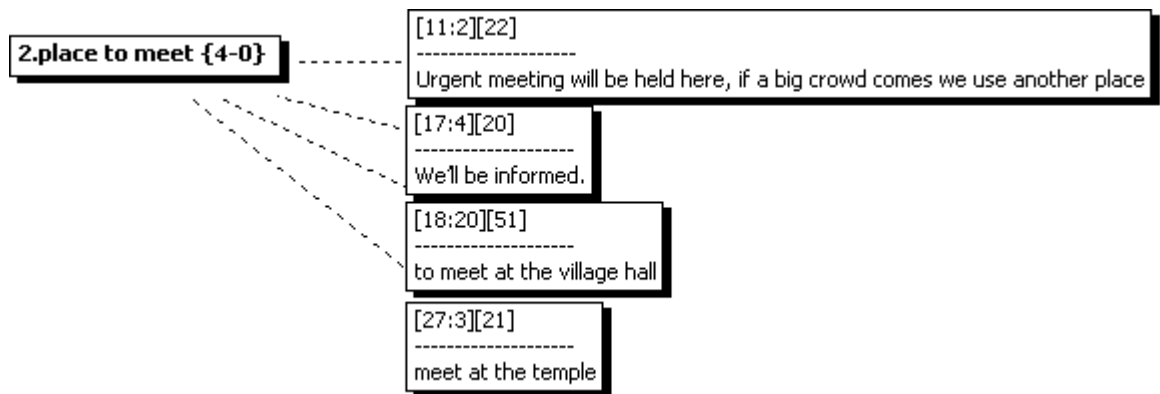


Rare Some positions of the officials only have a rare chance to meet with the villagers in person. However during the economic down turn the officials are careful in calling a meeting so that the villagers do not have to leave their job to attend. Once the meeting is called it should be important enough for people to come so as to avoid boredom and a feeling that it is a waste of time.

This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

Especially today, due to the economy, calling people for a meeting we'll have to carefully look whether they'd be available even when people know that the meeting is to help them about their poor living.//Assistant govern has less chance to visit the field.//We don't go out often because once we go out we announce that we are to meet 2-3 villages. It depends on the schedule.//

5. Place to meet



Place to meet The meeting place at the local level usually is a temple, a village meeting hall, or the home of local leaders. It depends upon what type of place the locals have: and number of people to include in the meeting is one of the concerns.

These are excerpts responded to the above demonstration:

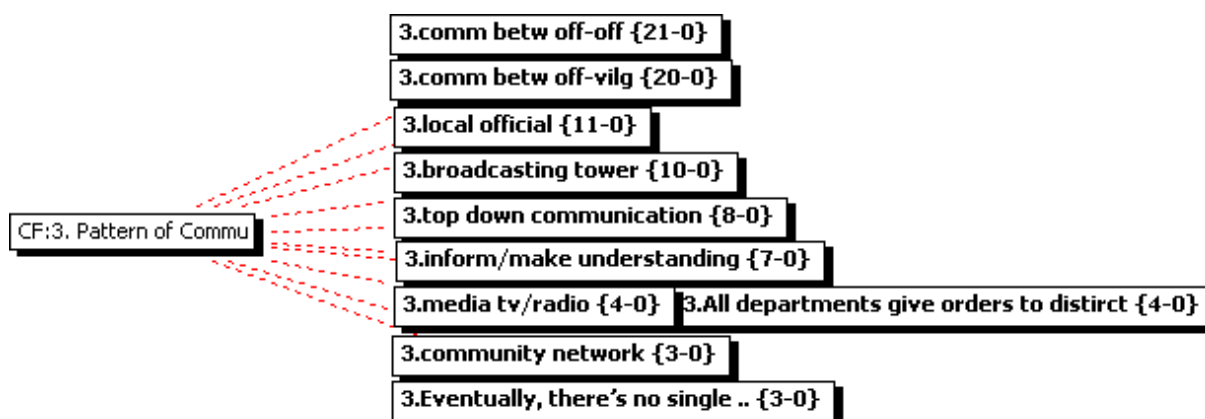
Urgent meetings will be held here; if a large crowd comes, we use another place.//
..to meet at the village hall..//..meet at the temple.

Question 3: What pattern of communication is applied? (formal or informal)

Patterns of Communication: Organisers of a formal meeting usually send out letters to inform the officials and to encourage them to attend. At the local level, headmen are responsible for transferring messages to villagers. A headman reports on meetings involving different government units that deal with the same topics. Local leaders seem to represent both their villagers and the government, while executive officials have their staff members to disseminate information and also undertake managerial work so that the executives have more of a chance to meet with locals.

Districts seem to be the information centres as this is where the upper-level authorities dispense information to locals and, in turn, the local units report to it. However, mass media is one of the ways that allow for the reporting of news to all levels of people; therefore, people are kept current to the same degree. Also, there are also other ways by which people hear about news, or information; but, the officials admit that there is always some chance that people will misunderstand what they have heard. The overview map below shows 10 themes under this research question:

QF3: Patterns of communication

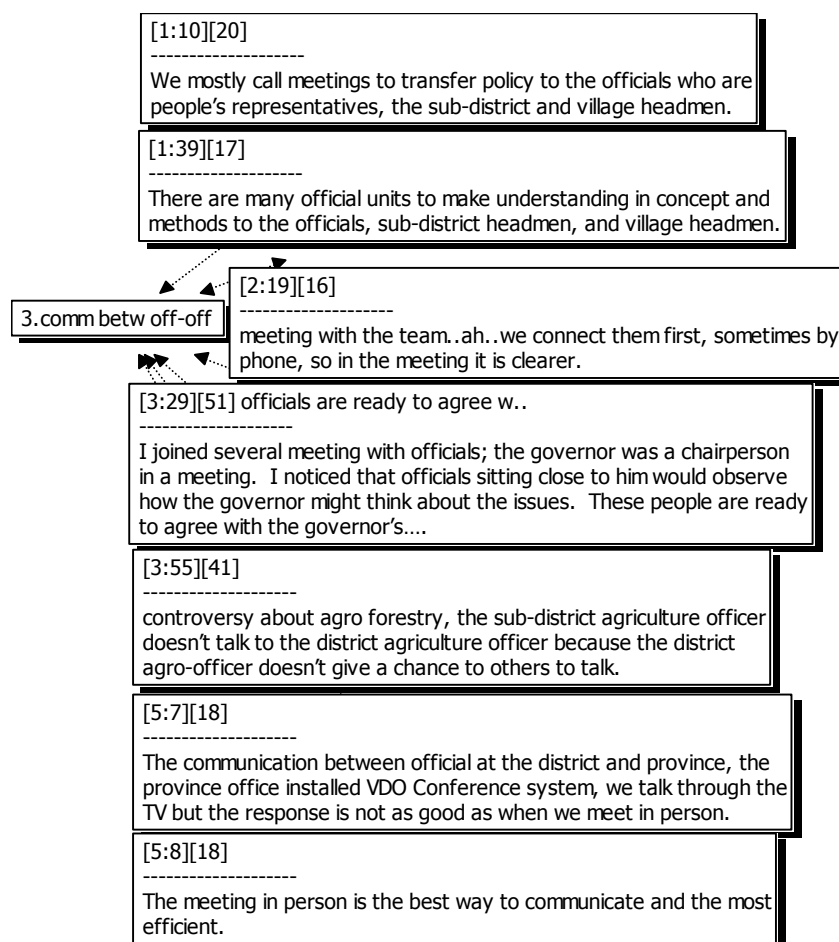


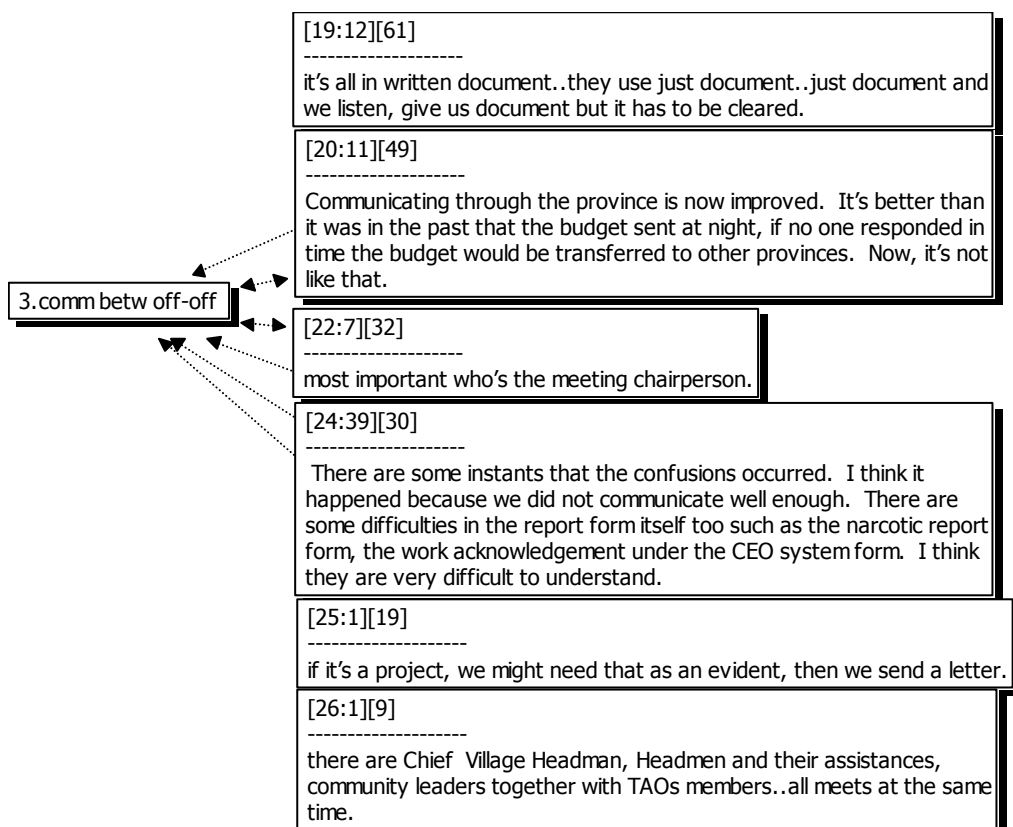
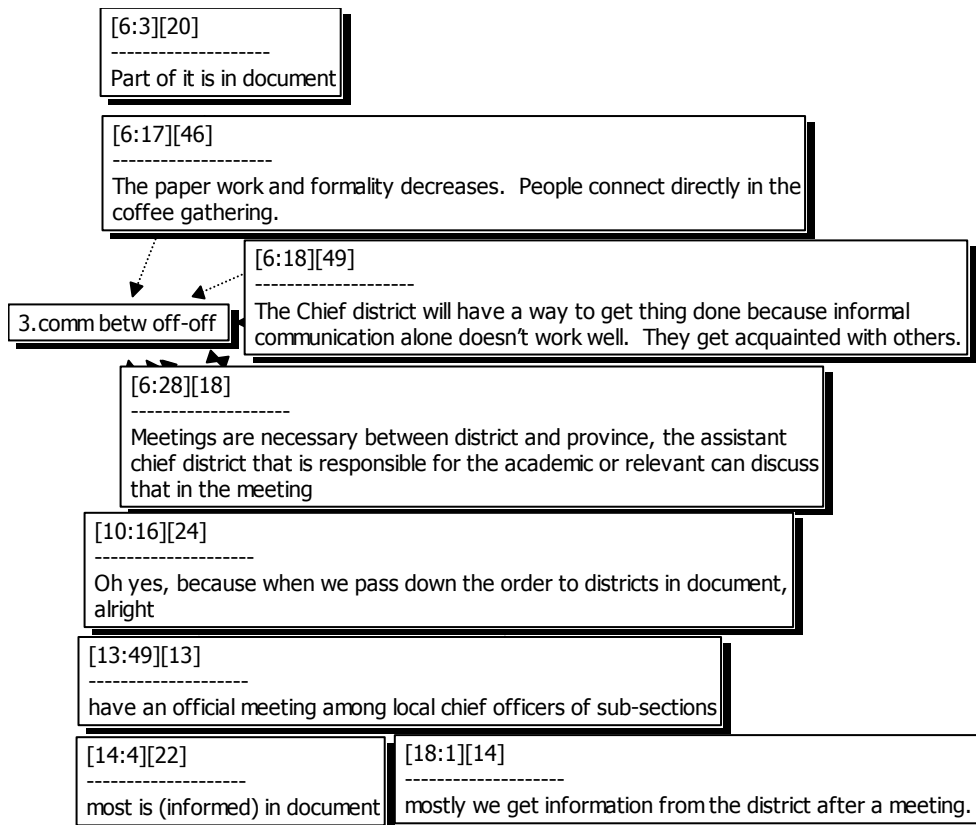
- 1. Comm betw off-off (Communication between officials)** A document was used as the main form of contact between officials. But, they realised the importance of personal contact and tended to find that there was less formality when they get to know one another. The officials are familiar with communication through meetings and, in some provinces, they met through video conferencing for urgent agenda items from the government, and the agenda should be broadcasted wisely. However, meeting people in person

was preferred. Misunderstanding was found especially when there was a complication in the work itself; but, it did not ruin the main content.

When the officials learnt that local officials might have misunderstood what they were previously informed, remedial action was taken. But, when the officials were in the meeting with their superior, they seemed to avoid any airing of their opinions which contrasted with that of the boss. It was safe not to conflict with the boss.

Due to the number of excerpts in the relevant map, the information is broken down into 3 maps.





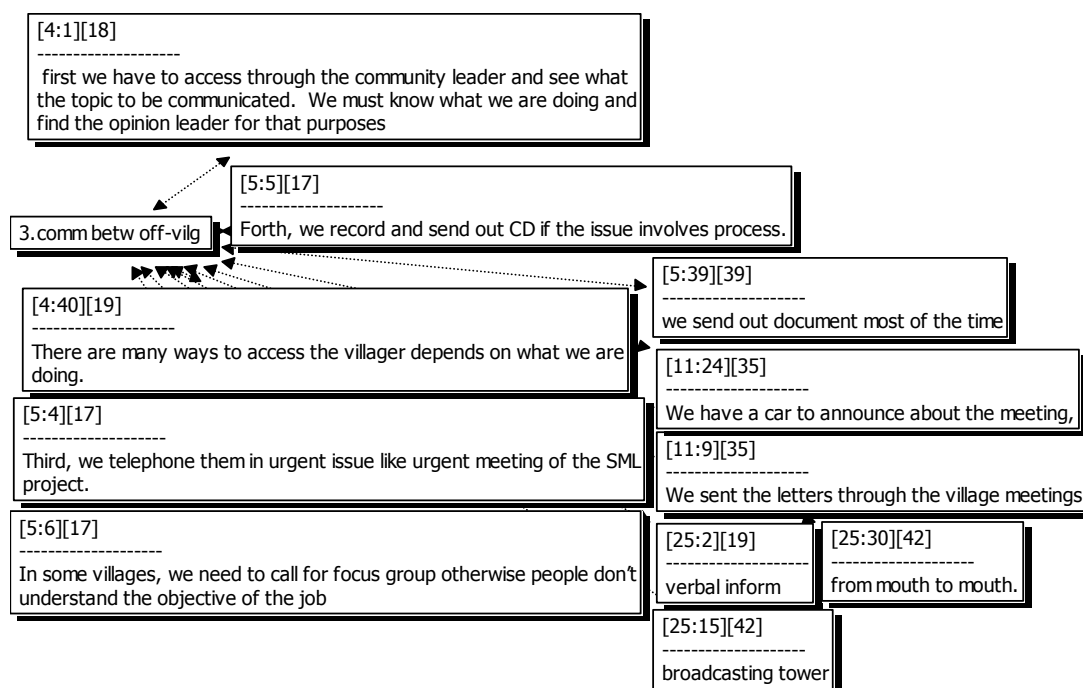
This following is the excerpts corresponding to the above maps:

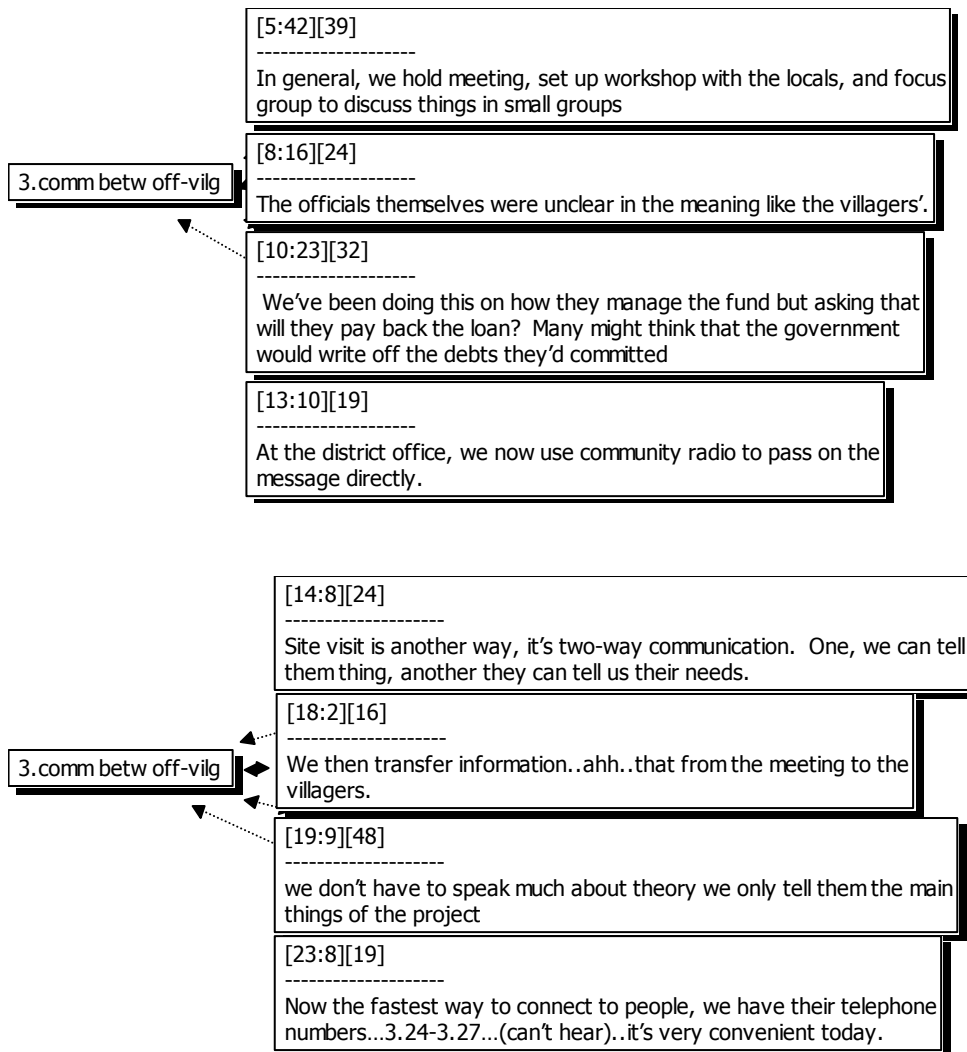
We mostly call meetings to transfer policy to the officials who are people's representatives, the sub-district and village headmen.//There are many official units to make for understanding of the concept and methods among officials, sub-district headmen, and village headmen.//I joined several meetings with officials; and the governor was a chairperson in a meeting. I noticed that officials sitting close to him would observe how the governor might think about the issues. These people are always ready to agree with that of the governor....//Meeting in person is the best and most efficient way to communicate.//The official in charge of an operation will be invited to discuss issues pertaining to the strategies. ...Part of it is in the related document.// most information is in document. //We then transfer information from the meeting to the villagers. Mostly, we get information from the district after a meeting.//Who is the meeting chairperson is most important.//We may not communicate it well enough, too, because there were problems about not getting the error reports in 30 or 50 days. When the facts came in, it showed. It has self-checking built in. If it was not corrected, then it was sent back to be corrected. We discussed the errors while we corrected it, doing so district by district. There were a few at first. Now it's fine.

There are some instances where confusion occurred. I think that it happened because we did not communicate well enough. There are some difficulties in the report form itself, too, such as the narcotic report form, and the work acknowledgement under the CEO system form. I think they are very difficult to understand.//

2. Comm betw off-vilg (Communication between officials and villagers)

Not all government officials have direct contact with villagers. The content of any communiqué sent to villagers will be assessed in order to select the most appropriate messenger, who could be either a local leader or an opinion leader, to pass on information to villagers. Normally, communication with villagers is left to local leaders who have direct contact with them; such as Kamnan (sub-district headman) and village headman. Then, a document is sent out to villagers, and there are other ways to access them. Each village has a broadcasting tower to announce news to the whole village. Sometimes, the making of a telephone call is more practical for urgent projects. Sending out a compact disk to the remote areas is appropriate when a telephone call is impossible. In case of complicated issues, the chief district may need to call for a focus group to hear villagers' opinions. Otherwise verbal communications is sufficient.

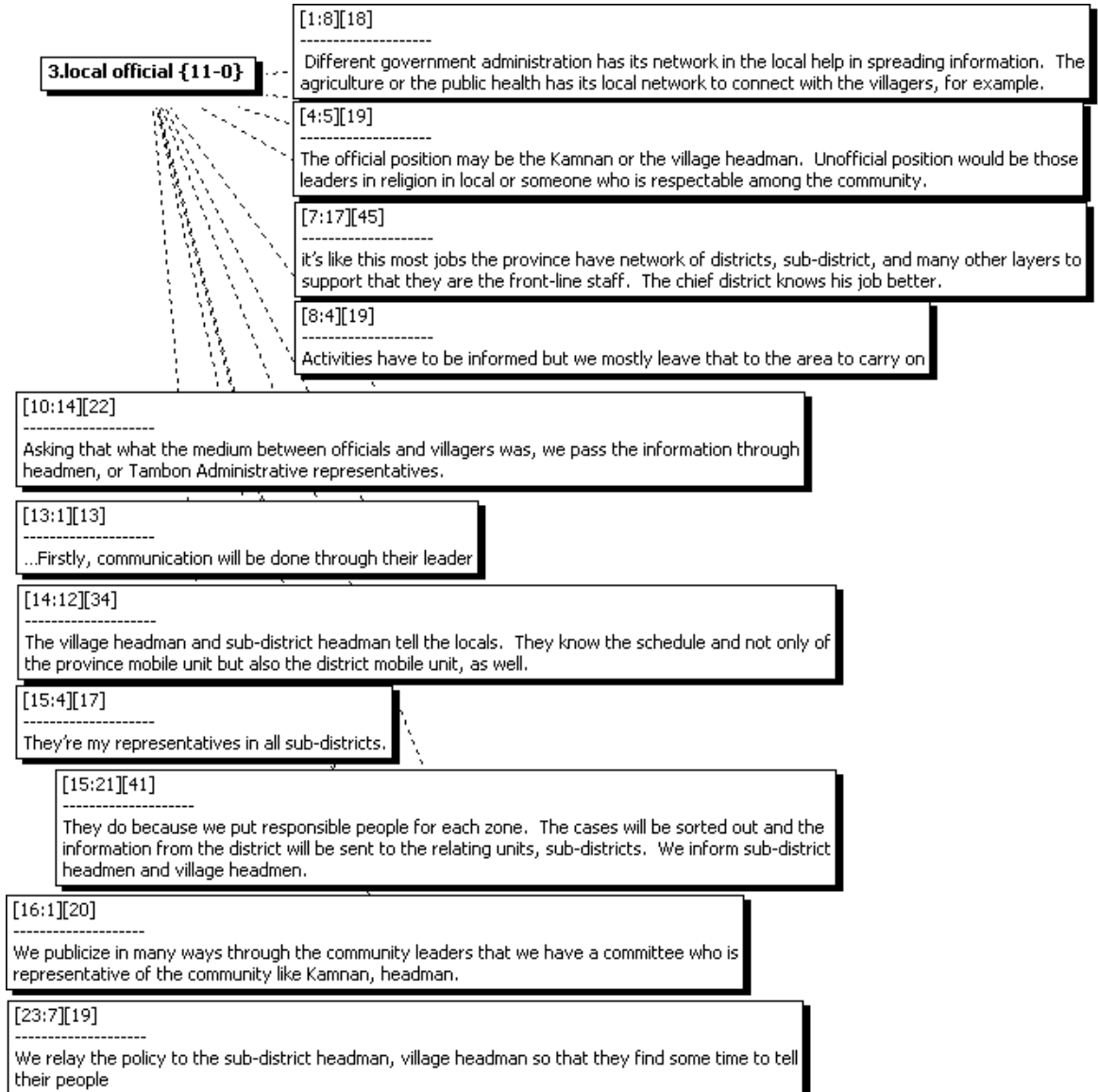




The above dimensions are supported by the following excerpts:

There are many ways to access the villager, and this depends on what we are doing.//
 We send out documents most of the time.//We sent letters out through the village meetings.//At the district office, we now use community radio to pass on messages directly.//We don't need to speak much about theory. We only tell them the main points about a project.//Now, the fastest way to connect with people is if we have their telephone numbers.//To verbally inform.//

- 3. Local officials** Information from the province relays to lower layers, such as districts, and each district then passes it on to local leaders who, in turn, spread news to the villagers. In the local community, there is a communication network that helps to publicise news from its leader



The following excerpts are to support the above dimension:

Each different government administration has its own network in the local area to help with the spreading of information. For example, the agriculture or the public health department has its local network to connect with the villagers.//The official point of focus may be the Kamnan or village headman. The unofficial point of focus would be religious leaders in the local area, or someone who is respected in the

community... Firstly, communication will be done through their leader... If a project relates to a women's group, there will be a unit like community development, agriculture and public health, and they have their teams. These guys will continue the job. For a policy-related job, I assign it to related people. They're my representatives in all sub-districts... We publicise in many ways through the community leaders and each is a representative of the community on our committees, like Kamnan, or headman.

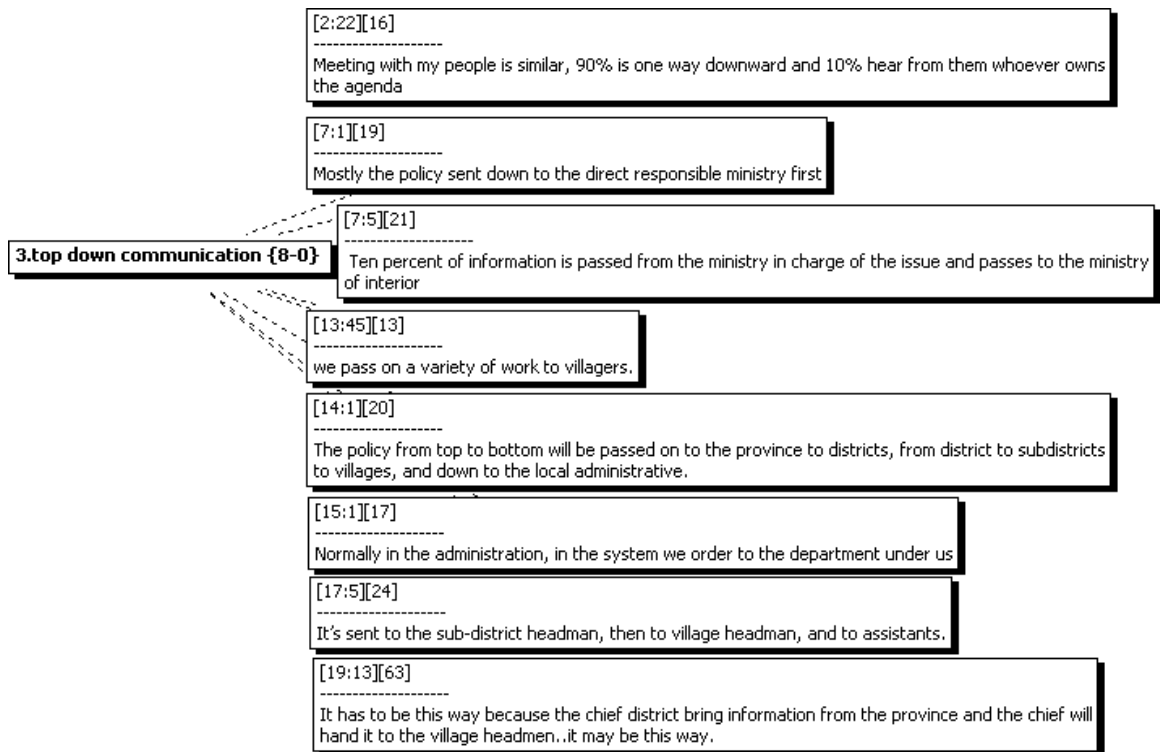
- 4. Broadcasting tower** Most villagers have a broadcasting tower (public address system) in the village to announce news so that the whole village hears any news at the same time.



The excerpts to support the map above are as below:

I spread the news over the broadcasting tower... I mostly tell them through the broadcasting tower... Through the broadcasting tower... Talking through a microphone...

- 5. Top down communication** About 90% of the time, communication involves the giving of orders from top management to the sub-unit officials and, in the same way, local leaders pass on information to their villagers.

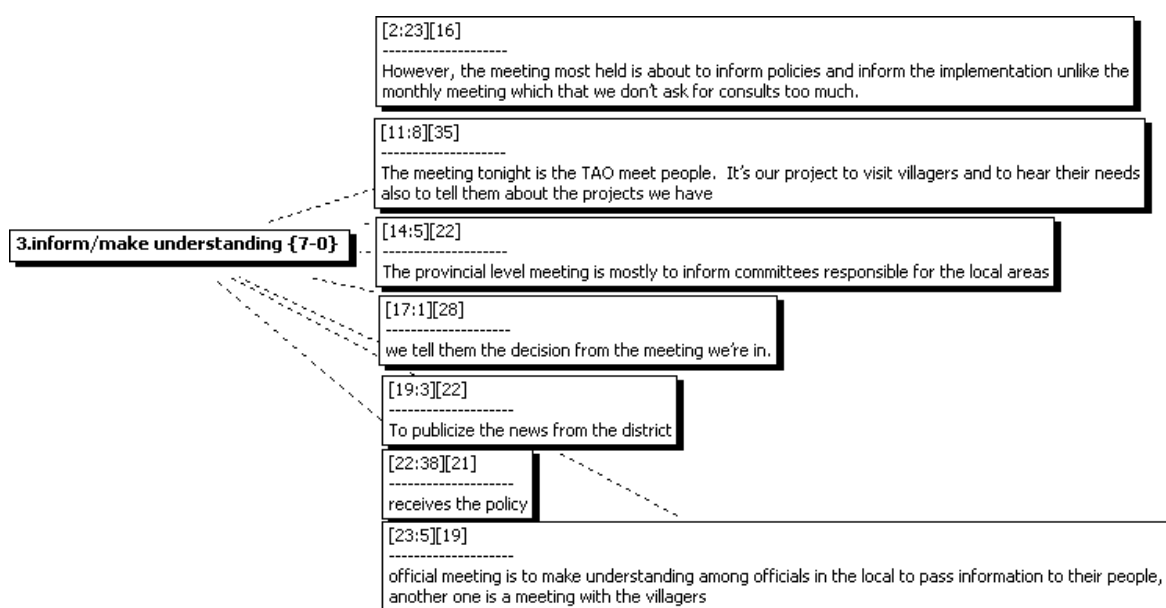


This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

We try to transfer information. But, 80% of the work always involves transfers to the chief district, and then the chief district transfers it downward. It's up to individuals as to how they do it. Meeting with my people is similar; 90% of the time it is one way and downward; and 10% of the time I hear from whoever owns the agenda.// information may come from several departments, and it could be from the cabinet or from the ministry itself. Mostly, a policy is first sent down to the ministry that is directly responsible for it.//The local administration has municipalities. Each municipality has a Tambon (subdistrict) Administrative Organisation (TAO) that passes a policy on to villagers, as well as to the subdistrict headman and village headman who have the responsibility to communicate with villagers. The policy, delivered from top to bottom, will be passed on to the province and to districts, then from the district to subdistricts, and to villages, and down to the local administration.//Normally, in this administration, the system is that we order the department under us what to do.//... there's no other way. Thai officials are like this.

It has to be this way because the district chief brings information from the province, and the chief will hand it to the village headmen..it may be this way.//

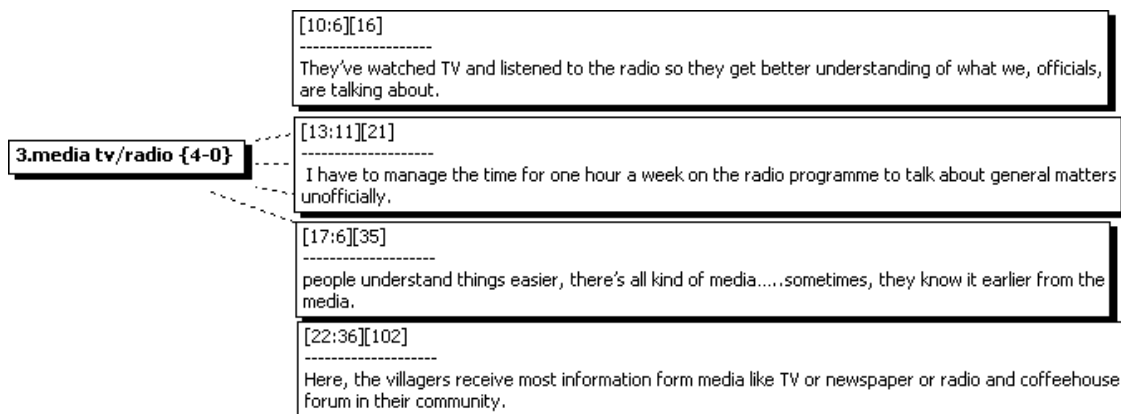
- 6. Inform/make understanding** Most meetings between officials is for them to listen to policy. The officials then pass on the decision from their meeting to the villagers, to inform about activities or projects from the district and, sometimes, to hear their needs. It is also a chance to explain and answer to clarify policy implementation.



These are excerpts to respond the above dimension:

However, the meeting most-often held is to inform about policies and to inform about the implementation, unlike the monthly meeting where we don't ask for consults too much. //The meeting tonight is where the TAO meets people. It's our plan to visit villagers and to hear of their needs, and also to tell them about the projects we have at present.//The provincial level meeting is mostly held to inform committees responsible for the local areas.//..an official meeting is held to facilitate understanding among officials in the local area and to pass on information to their people.//

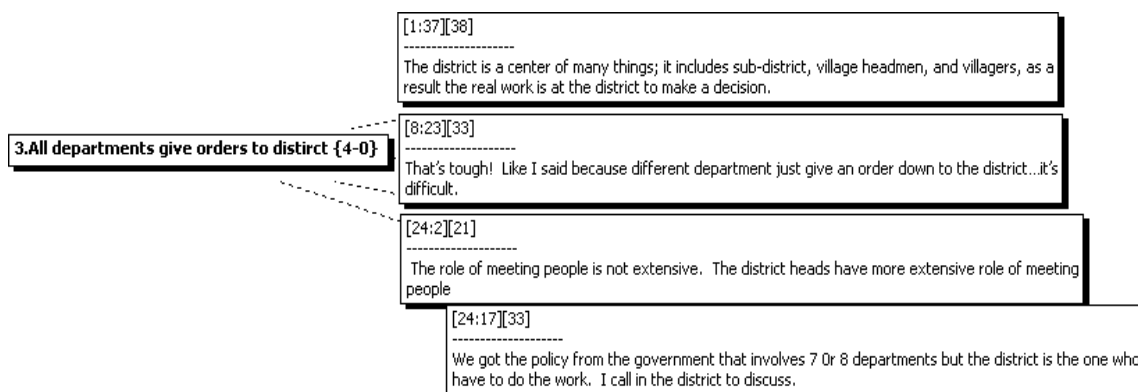
- 7. Media-TV/radio** Television and radio become helpful and assist both the officials and villagers to receive news. It is one of the ways people acknowledged the news and information in time and have some ideas what the officials will be telling them.



The above dimension is supported by the following:

I must manage the time slot for one hour a week on the radio programme to talk about general matters unofficially.//Like today, they talked about energy saving; last night the issue was already viewed on TV. The villagers knew it. They got it right away when the headman mentioned it. People understand things easier, there are all kinds of media.....sometimes, they know it earlier from the mass media.//When talking to villagers, we don't speak academic words. Even when speaking between officials, we don't use very much official language or slang. Here, the villagers receive information from media like TV, newspaper or radio, and also from coffeeshouse forums in their communities.//

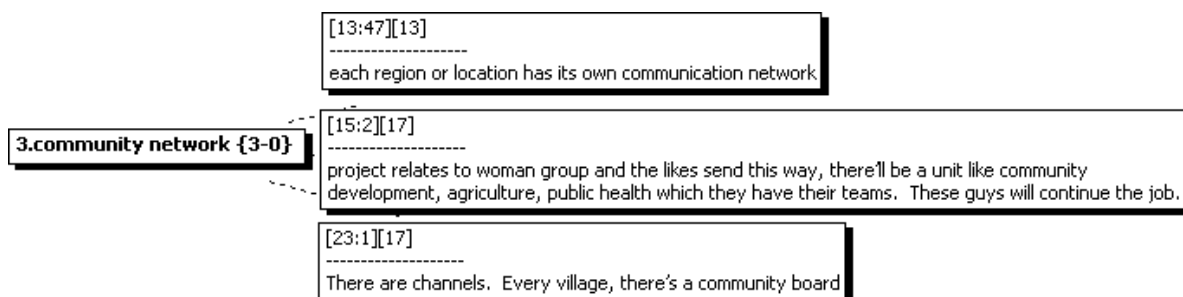
- 8. All departments give orders to districts** Districts become a pool of information flowing in from the top level and the local level, and the districts collect all information from locals and send it to the top level.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

The CEO Governor policy is not understood, even at the district level. The operation is not at the provincial level, but it is at a plan, policy, and strategic unit while the operation happens in the district level. The district is a centre of many things; it includes sub-districts, village headmen, plus villagers and, as a result, the real work is at the district level in terms of making a decision.//That's tough! Like I said because different departments just give orders to the district...it's difficult.//They have to understand that in order to serve the people according to the policy, you have to do this and that. You have to be clear that the standards of each procedure are what is to be done accordingly. We got the policy from the government that involves seven or eight departments; but, the district is the one that must do the work. So, I call in the district to discuss issues.//

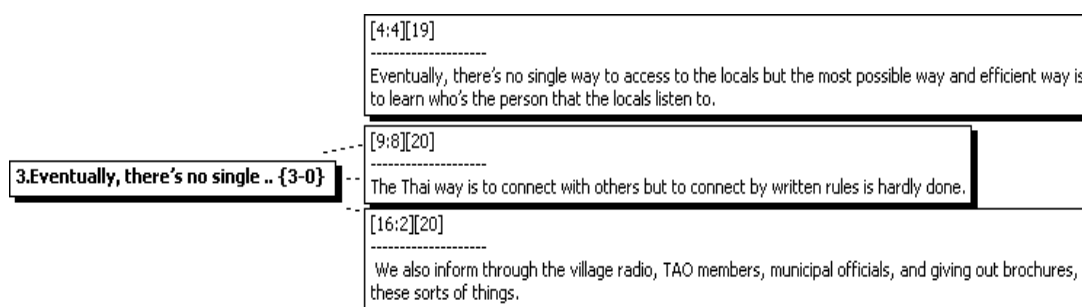
9. **Community network** At the local level, a community network enhances the spreading of news, if the network seems to be relevant to the topic. That way, an official will send information in that manner and this helps to pass it on to the target group. For example, if a topic relates to a women's group, the information will be given to the group which, in turn, will tell its members about the details



The excerpts below are to support the above dimension:

Each region or location has its own communication network.//They're my representatives in all sub-districts. If a project relates to a women's group, there will be a unit like community development, agriculture and public health, which have their teams. These guys will continue the job.//There are channels. In every village, there's a community board.//

10. Eventually, there is no single way to connect with villagers



There is no single way to connect with villagers: Officials have several channels through which to contact with locals. This is because there are not only the official lines of communication, but also the local communication networks formed by the communities and the officials. However, persons to whom villagers listen should not be overlooked.

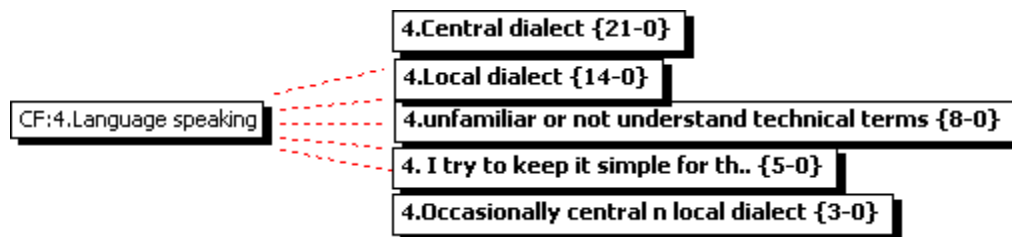
The following comments are to support the theme above:

Eventually, there is no single way to access the locals. But, the most possible and efficient way is to learn who is the person that the locals listen to. //The Thai way is to connect with others. But, to connect by written rules is hardly done.//We also inform people through the village radio, TAO members, municipal officials, and b giving out brochures.//

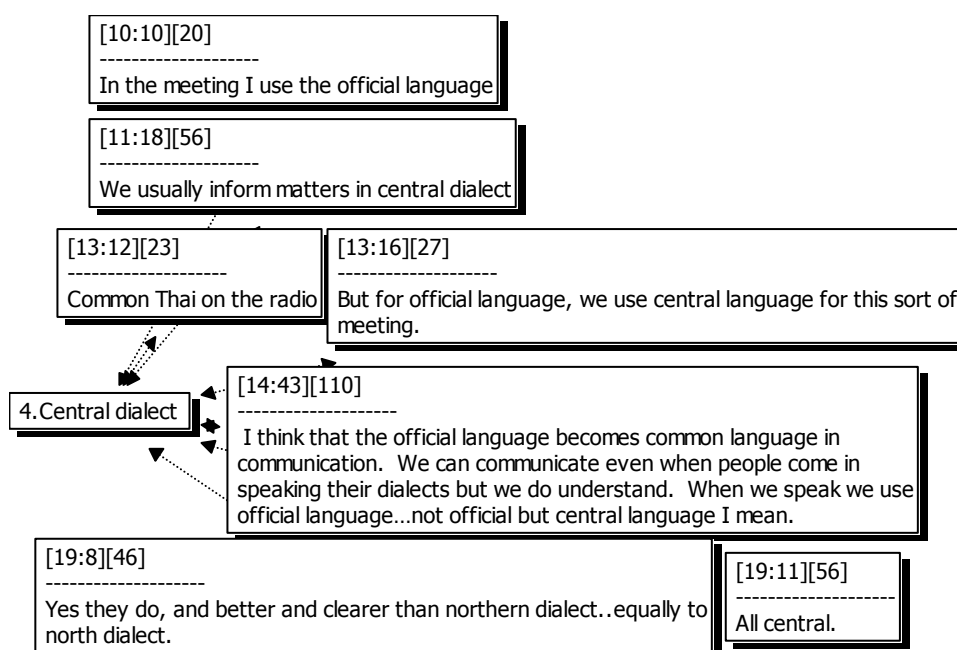
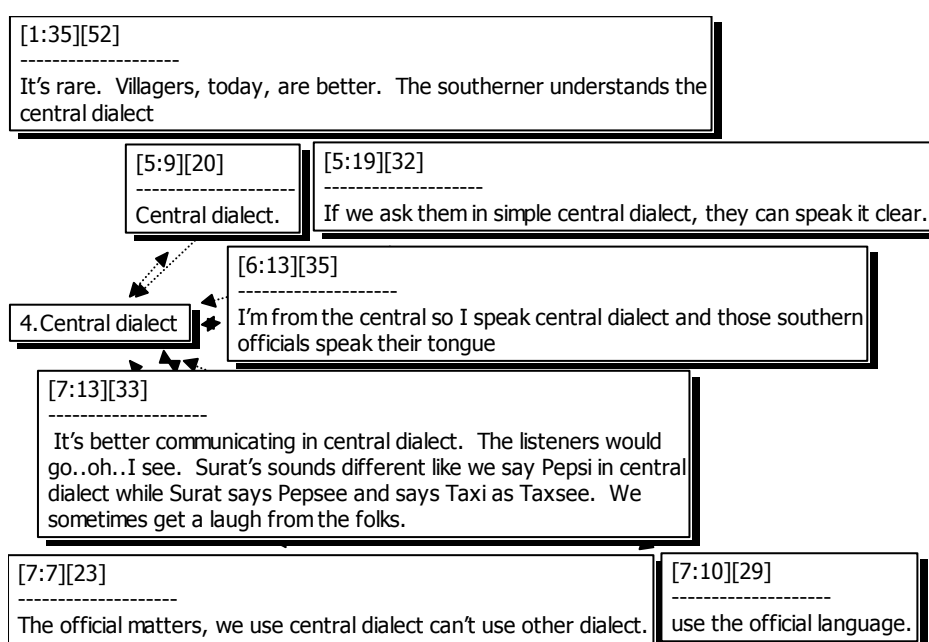
Question 4: What language (or dialect) is spoken in the meeting; whether the official language or terms are spoken?

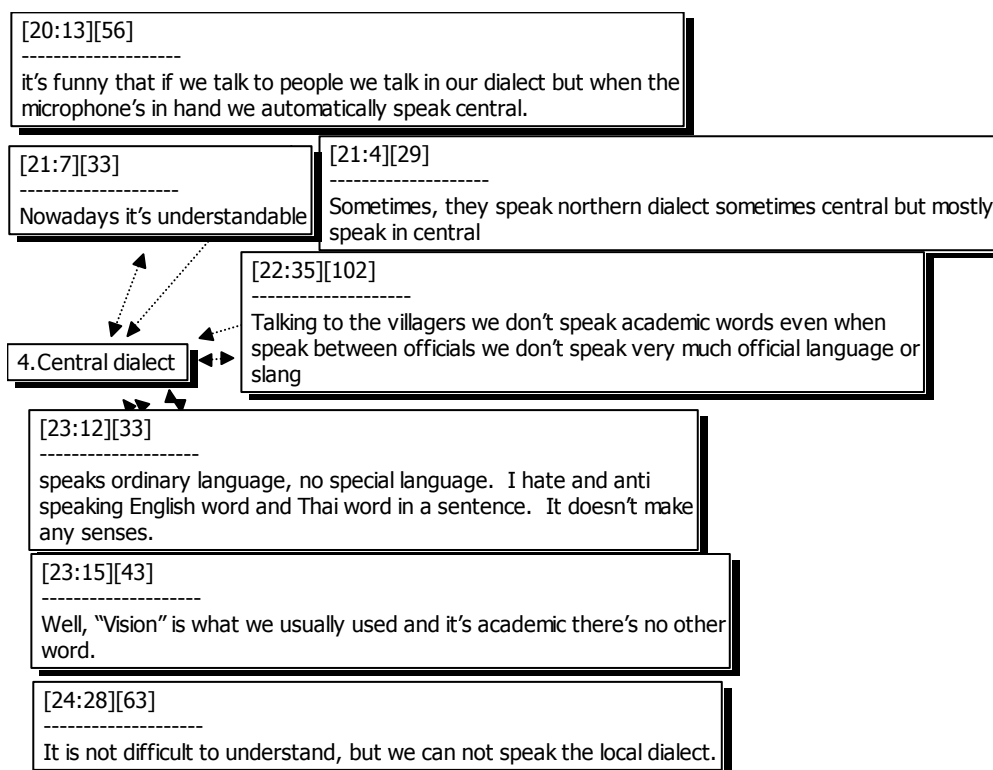
Language Speaking: Central and local dialects are not totally different. People can communicate and understand each other, even if people are from different part of the country. An exception is only those living in Muslim communities in provinces close to the Malaysian border; It is there that some areas in Songkla, Narathiwat, Yala, and Pattani have Thai-Muslims who speak Yawi, which is another language. Speaking the central dialect, or a local dialect, depends on the situation. In a meeting between the officials, the central dialect is spoken; but, when with villagers, the local dialect is more appropriate. Five themes to answer this research question are presented below:

QF4: Language speaking



1. Central dialect The central dialect is usually spoken in formal meetings and when officials inform villagers in a large group. This is done because people could come from different parts of the country, and the officials believe that the central dialect is understood by all and is, therefore, more appropriate. There is much information related to this topic. Therefore, instead of explaining all in on map, it should be clearer when presented in the following 3 maps.

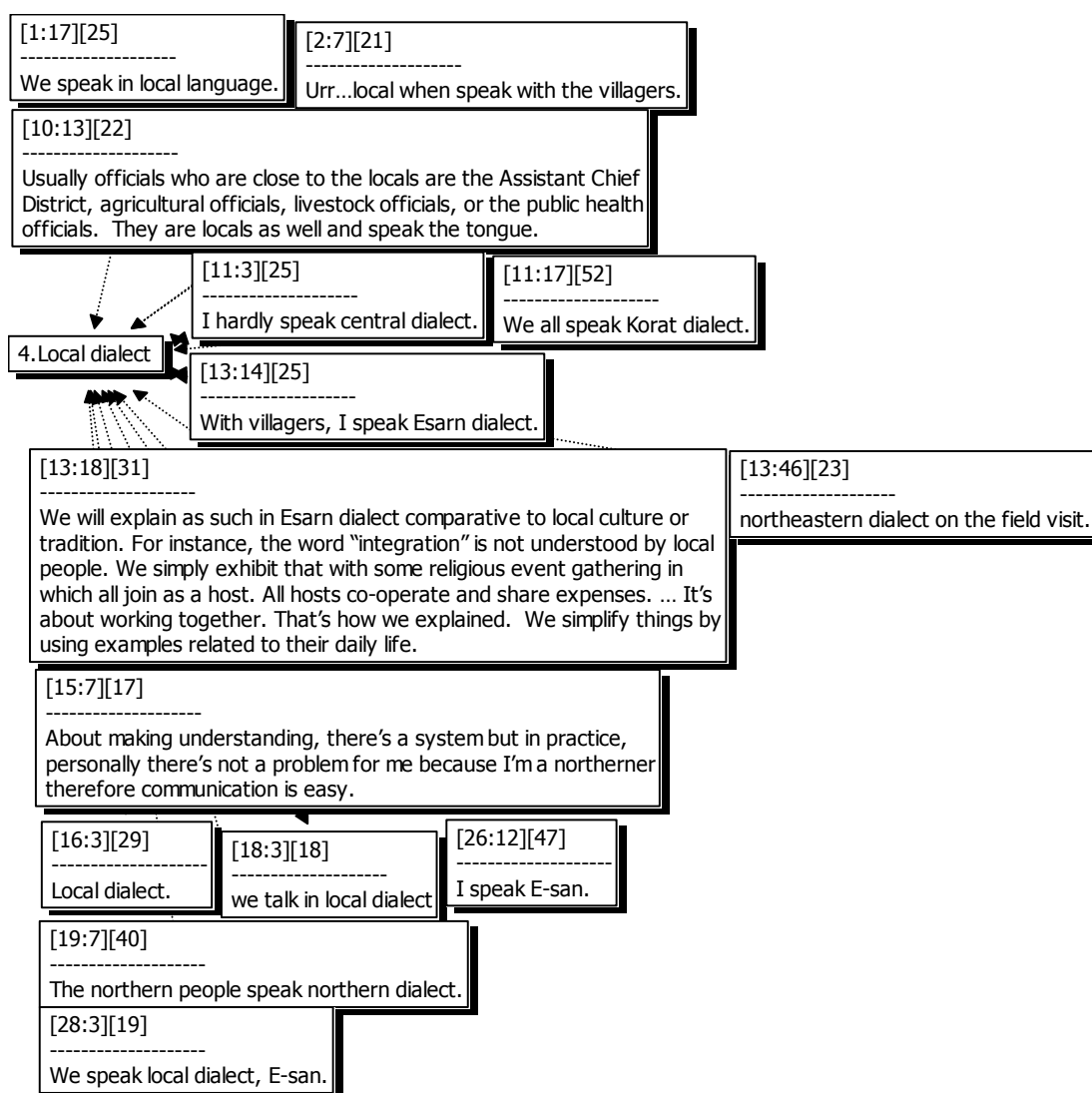




The above dimensions were supported by the following excerpts:

//It's rare. Villagers, today, are better. The southerner understands the central dialect. // I'm from Chonburi. I'm from the central part, so I speak the central dialect and those southern officials speak their own dialect. //We must admit that the local language is spoken differently from place to place. I'm from Suratthani and people might not understand my dialect. It's better communicating in the central dialect. The listeners would go..oh..I see. People from Surat sound different; like, we say Pepsi in the central dialect, while those from Surat say Pepsee and say Taxi as Taxsee. We sometimes get a laugh from those folks. //But, when villagers talk, we sometimes don't get it because they speak in a different dialect, especially those from other provinces. We usually speak about things by using the central dialect...but, sometimes, it is in the local dialect and this means that we need different techniques and procedures. I think that the official language becomes the common language in communication. We can communicate that way, even when people come in speaking their dialects that we do understand. When we speak, we use official language...not official, but central language, I mean.//Sometimes, they speak with a northern dialect, sometimes central, but mostly speak in central.//

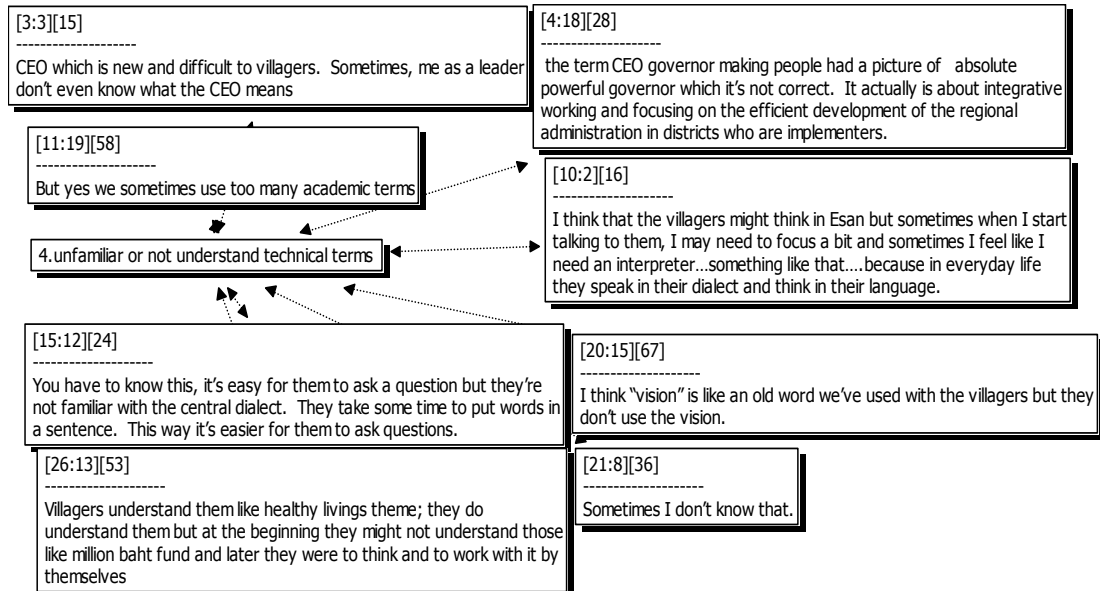
2. Local dialect Officials who can speak the local dialect will do so with villagers and, thereby making both parties feel as if they belong to the one group.



The dimension is evidenced by the following:

I use the local dialect when I speak with the villagers. //Usually, officials who are close to the locals are the Assistant Chief District, agricultural officials, livestock officials, or the public health officials. They are locals, as well and speak the local language.//We all speak Korat dialect.//With villagers, I speak by using the Esarn dialect.//About making people understand, there's a system. But, in practice, personally, there's not a problem for me because I'm a northerner. Therefore, communication is easy.//We talk using the local dialect.//

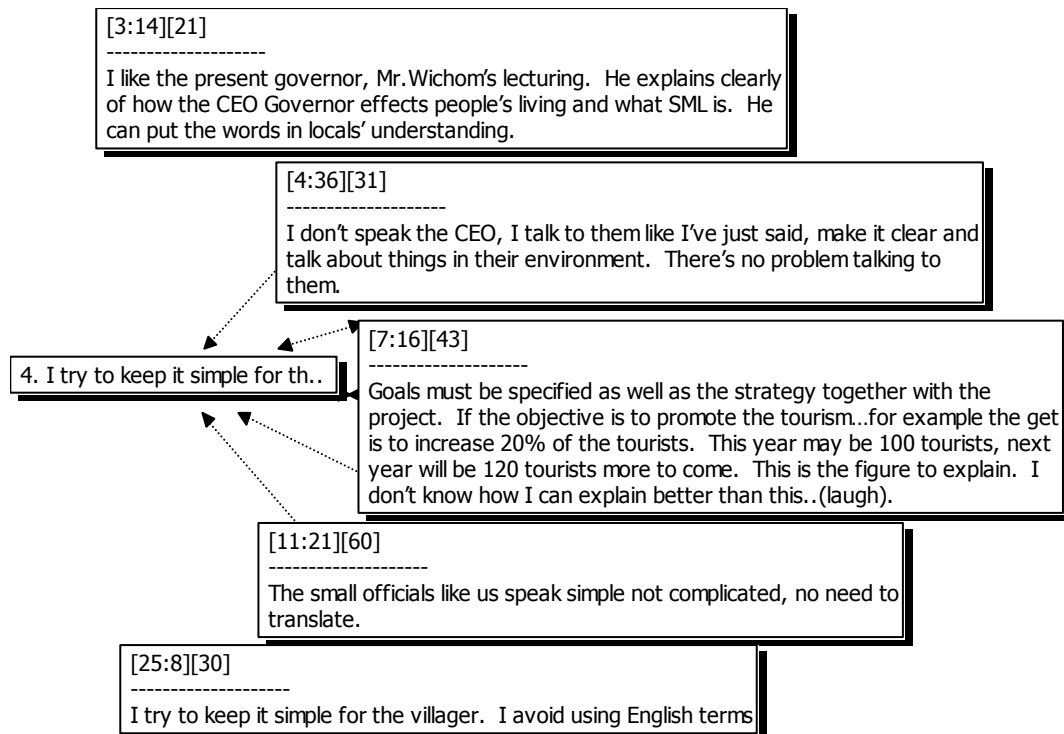
3. Unfamiliar terms or do not understand technical terms Villagers are not familiar with official and academic terms. Some top official realize this and admit that they sometimes use too many academic terms. Not only is the villagers who not understand but, neither do some local officials.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

The term CEO Governor gives the impression of having absolute powerful, which is not correct. It actually is about integration and focusing on efficient development of regional administration in districts who are implementers of plans. //I think that the villagers might think in Esan dialect. But, sometimes, when I start talking to them, I may need to focus a bit and, sometimes, I feel like I need an interpreter...something like that....because in everyday life they speak in their dialect and think in their own language.//But, yes, we sometimes use too many academic terms.//You must know this; it's easy for them to ask a question. But, they're not familiar with the central dialect. They take some time to put words together to form a sentence. This way it's easier for them to ask questions.// Some do understand the terms; but, they could forget, and don't know what SML is. Still, they work on the project. Villagers understand them like the healthy living theme; they do understand them; but, at the beginning, they might not understand those, like the million baht fund and, later, they were to think of it, and to work with it by themselves.

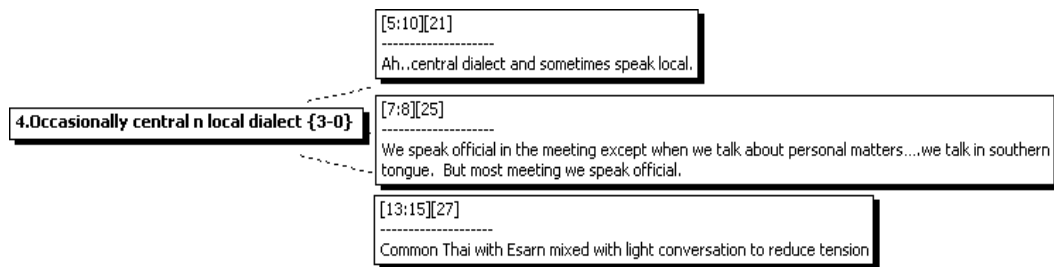
- 4. I try to keep it simple** Officials try to make messages simple so that the villagers can understand them, doing so by talking, or giving examples relevant to their environment, being things to which villagers can relate.



The ideas are clearly demonstrated via the following:

I like the present governor, and his lecturing. He explains clearly how the CEO Governor affects people's living and what SML is. He can put the words in a way that helps locals gain an understanding.//I don't speak like a CEO. I talk to them like I've just said, make it clear, and talk about things in their environment. There's no problem talking to them.//Goals must be specified, as well as the strategy associated with the project. If the objective is to promote tourism...for example, = to increase the number of tourists by 20%. This year, there be 100 tourists; so, next year, there will be 120 tourists. This is the way to explain it. I don't know how I can explain better than this...(laugh).//The low-level officials are like us and speak simply, not in a complicated way, and there is no need to translate.//I try to keep it simple for the villager. I avoid using English terms.//

- 5. Occasionally central and local dialects** Central dialect and local dialect are spoken interchangeably. In the meeting the official would rather speak in central dialect and in some case to create a friendly atmosphere local dialect will be spoken.



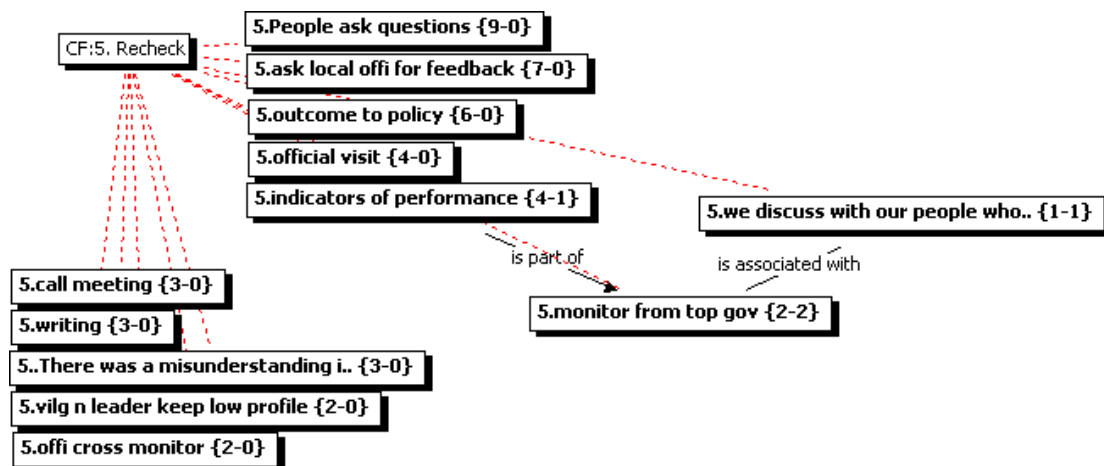
The dimension is supported by the following comments:

Ah..central dialect and sometimes speak local.//We speak official in the meeting except when we talk about personal matters....we talk in southern tongue. But most meeting we speak official.//Common Thai with Esarn mixed with light conversation to reduce tension//

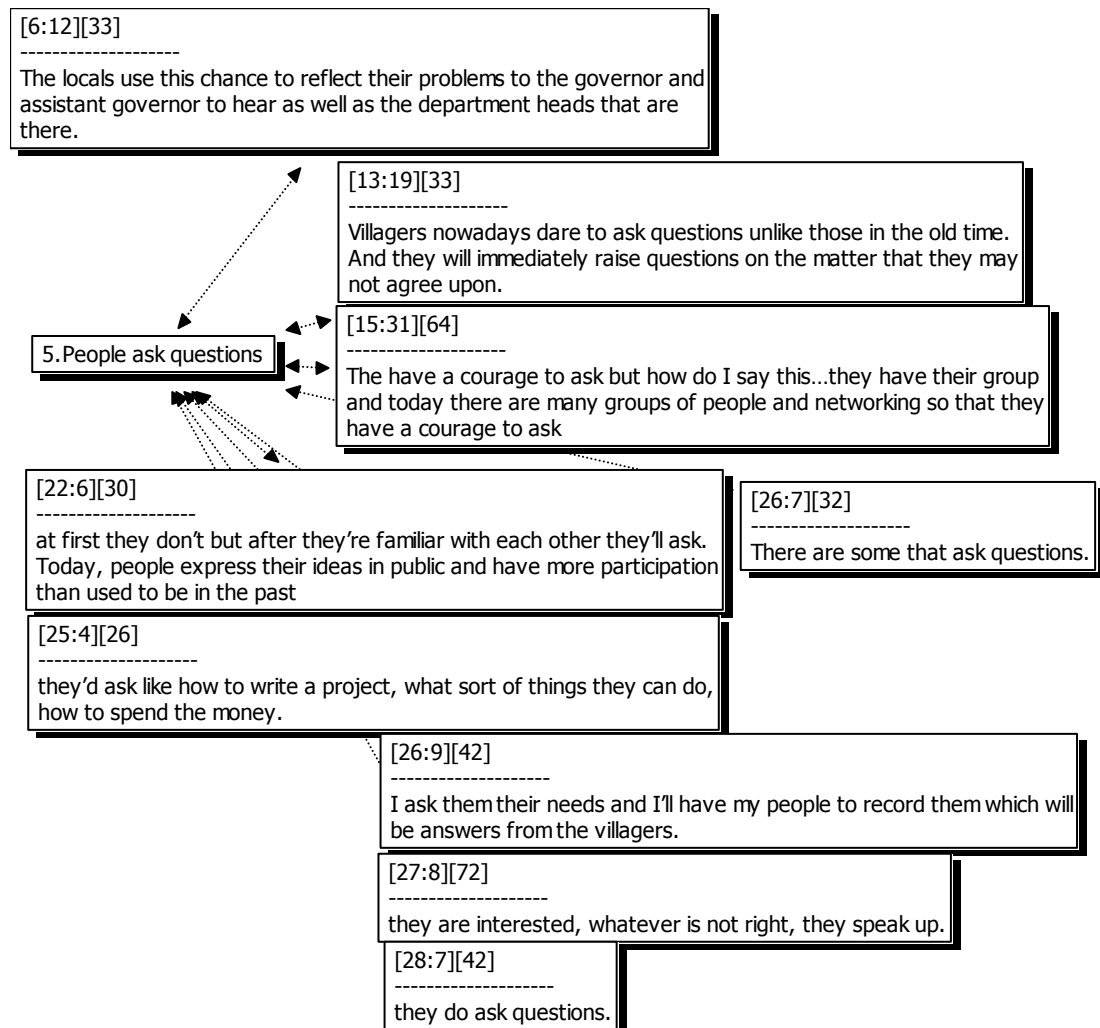
Question 5: How the information is rechecked or monitored for mutual understanding?

The central government has set up a monitoring system for all government units. For example, officials need to set the KPIs (key performance indicators) so that their supervisor can refer to these for the purpose of performance evaluation. Also, common people have more access so as to send their complaints to the government, such as via the Prime Minister's mail boxes which are installed all over the country. So it is that officials become more careful and alert as to their actions. Different officials have their own ways to recheck the information received from subordinates and from villagers. Some believe that reading from a report could be the best way to tell since they have past experience about the job. There are 10 themes of answers, as is presented below:

CF5: Recheck



- 1. People ask questions** Today, villagers speak up and ask questions. They engage in more participation when they are a part of planning a project. Some villagers start talking when they are familiar with one another. Some villagers get into a group and they form their own network so that they have more confidence so as to give their opinions. When the governor visits people in the local areas, he uses this chance to hear from the villagers.

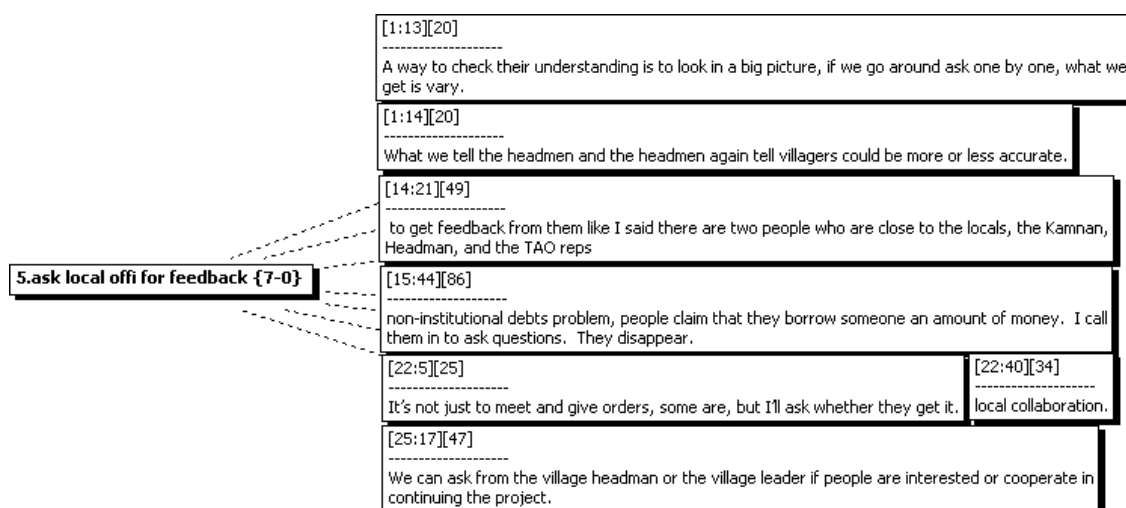


The excerpts below are to support the above theme:

Several departments provide services to the villagers. The locals use this chance to express their problems to the governor, the assistant governor and the department heads who are there.//Villagers, nowadays, dare to ask question, unlike those in the old time. And they will immediately raise questions on the matter that they may not agree upon.//The have the courage to ask. But, how do I say this...they have their group and, today, there are many groups of people and networking, So, they have the

courage to ask.//At first they don't. But, after they're familiar with each other, they'll ask. Today, people express their ideas in public and have more participation than was the case in the past.//There are some that ask questions.//They are interested in whatever is not right, and they speak up.//

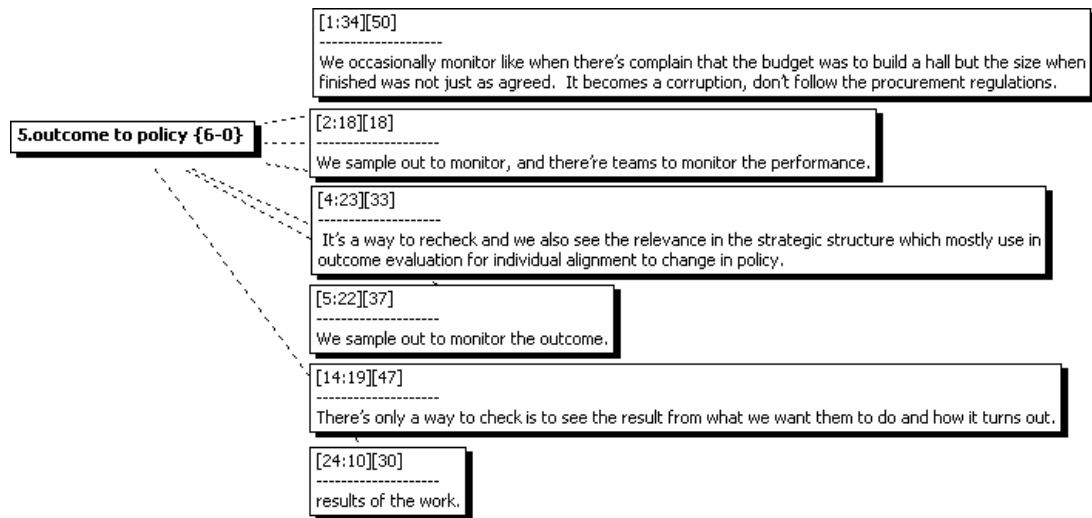
2. **Ask local officials for feedback** Local officials are a source of information because they work closely in the local area and have the most contact with villagers. However, what local leaders tell their villagers could be slightly different from the original message passed on from a higher level. Asking villagers individually about the message that they received, and the answers vary.



This theme is clearly demonstrated via the following comments:

What we tell the headmen, and the headmen again tells villagers, could be more or less accurate.//To get feedback from them, like I said, there are two people who are close to the locals, the Kamnan, Headman, and the TAO representatives.//It's not just to meet and give orders; some are like that. But, I'll ask whether they get it.//We can ask the village headman or village leader if people are interested, or cooperate, in continuing the project.//

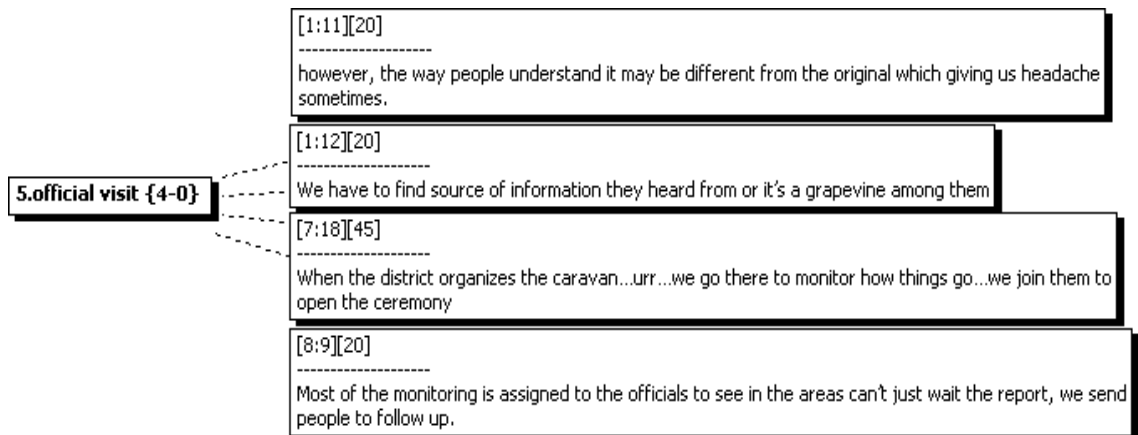
3. Outcome to policy The outcome of any project will be compared to the policy objectives and strategies. Spending might



This map above is clearly demonstrated via the following:

We occasionally monitor like when there's complain that the budget was to build a hall but the size when finished was not just as agreed. It becomes a corruption, don't follow the procurement regulations.//We sample out to monitor, and there're teams to monitor the performance.//It's a way to recheck and we also see the relevance in the strategic structure which mostly use in outcome evaluation for individual alignment to change in policy.//

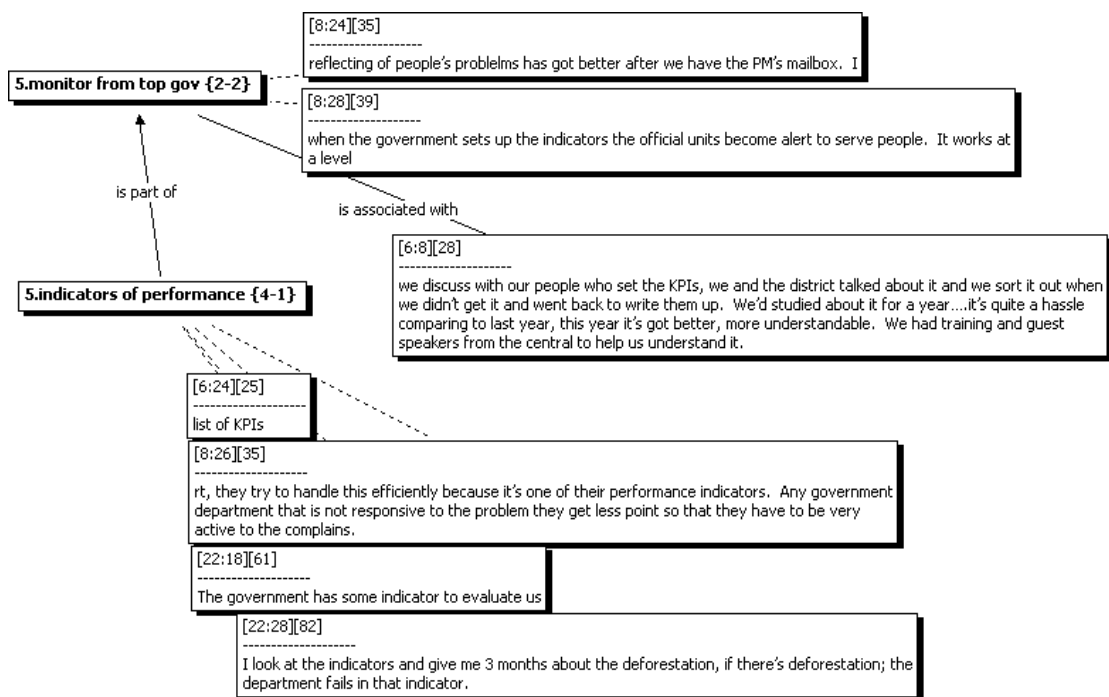
4. Official visits Site visiting is necessary for officials to experience the real situation and to see how people understand messages that officials want them to understand. If something is not correctly understood, then officials can find the source of misinformation and correct it.



This is clearly reported in the excerpts, as per the following:

A way to check their understanding is to look at the big picture and, if we go around asking people one by one, then what we get varies. We must find the source of information they heard...//When the district organizes the caravan...urr..we go there to monitor how things go...we join them to open the ceremony...//Most of the monitoring is assigned to officials to see. In the areas that can't just wait to report, we send people to follow up.//

5. Monitoring from top government and indicators of performance The central government has set up a monitoring system for all government units. For example, officials need to set the KPIs (key performance indicators) so that their supervisor can refer to these for the purpose of performance evaluation. Also, common people have more access so as to send their complaints to the government, such as via the Prime Minister's mail boxes which are installed all over the country. So it is that officials become more careful and alert as to their actions.

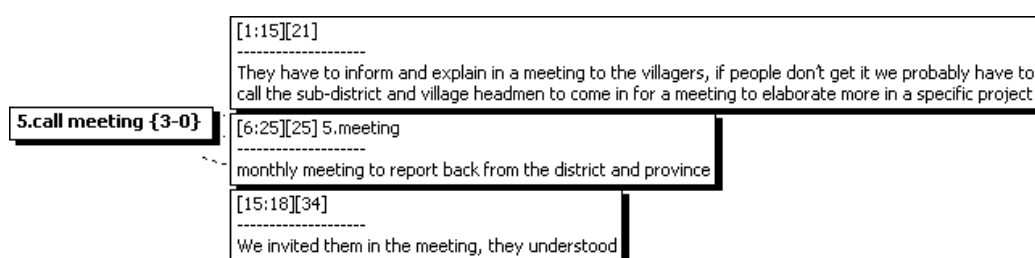


The dimension above is reinforced by the following comments:

List of KPIs//...they try to handle this efficiently because it's one of their performance indicators. Any government department that is not responsive to the problem will get less point. So, they must be very active in dealing with complains.// I look at the indicators and they give me three months in relation to deforestation. So, if there's deforestation; the department fails in relation to that indicator.//We discuss with our people who set the KPIs; we, and the district, talked about it and we sort it out when we didn't get it and we went back to write them up. We'd studied it for a year....it's quite a hassle when compared to last year; this year, it's better, and more

understandable. We had training and guest speakers from head office to help us understand it.//

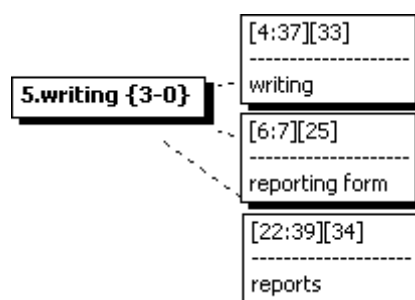
6. **Call a meeting** To call a meeting is the usual practice to monitor how officials understand what they were assigned to do. The supervisor can hear feedback reports and can decide who needs further assistance, or can explain and provide further detail about the assignment.



The following was said in support of the above dimension:

We invited them to the meeting, and they understood.//In a meeting, they just inform and explain to the villagers. If people don't get it we probably need to call the sub-district and village headmen to come in for a meeting to elaborate more about a specific project.//Use the monthly meeting to report back from the district and province.//

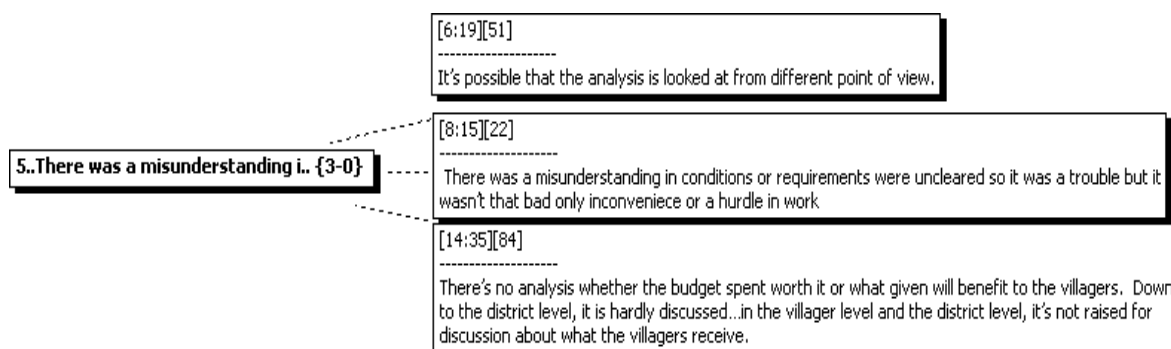
7. Writing Some supervisors indicate that they monitor the level of understanding of their inferior by reading their written reports.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

Writing.//Fill in the] Reporting form//Reports//

8. There was a misunderstanding A misunderstanding is possible; but, it does not ruin the whole job. Different officials have their own way of interpreting meaning. Another official notices that spending had never been discussed in relation to the associated worthiness and benefits that people received from the budget granted.



The theme above is clearly demonstrated via the following:

It's possible that the analysis is looked at from different point of view.//There are some forms of communication that's difficult to understand. There was a misunderstanding; conditions or requirements were unclear. So, it was a problem; but, it wasn't that bad. It was only an inconvenience or a hurdle in work.//I think at the local administration level and I believe that they think about that more than we do. They think about what people will get. There's no analysis whether the money

spent is worth it, or whether what is given will be of benefit to the villagers. At the district level, it is hardly discussed...at the villager level, and the district level, it's not raised for discussion as to what the villagers receive.//

9. Villager and leaders keep a low profile Unfortunately, there are villagers and also local leaders keeping low profiles. Officials notice this. Most of these people prefer listening, rather than expressing what they are thinking.

5.vilg n leader keep low profile {2-0}	<div>[7:15][41]</div> <div>-----</div> <div>Most people don't ask, they have no idea.</div>
	<div>[11:15][43]</div> <div>-----</div> <div>Some villagers don't air their opinions and some just listen</div>

The following was said in support of the above dimension:

Most people don't ask, they have no idea.//Some villagers don't air their opinions, and some just listen.//

10. Officials cross monitor There are government units to cross-monitor any spending at the local level, whereby they keep an eye on one another.

5.offi cross monitor {2-0}	<div>[14:13][40]</div> <div>-----</div> <div>Many departments do the monitoring. Among the officials sector there are departments to follow up and evaluate. The Bureau of the Budget (BB) is one that monitors the spending, okay? And not only that the Bureau of the Budget watches out the spending but it also evaluates the projects outcomes as proposed the return to the public. Office of the Auditor General (OAG) also does the evaluation. This is what the monitoring sections do.</div>
	<div>[21:20][95]</div> <div>-----</div> <div>In the TAO's area, the TAO's take care of their job and the municipal's area, it's their job to manage. If there are something no good we can protest and hand the issues over, and that's it.</div>

This is clearly demonstrated the theme above via the following:

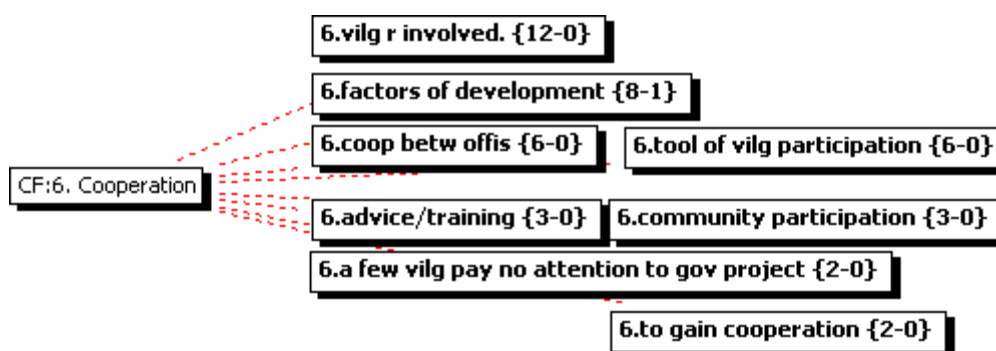
It's now the CEO system that is adopted and evaluation is always a part of the working process. Other than outside evaluators, the new system requires self-assessment. Each department must set its own objectives to meet yearly objectives by setting target and figures, and then we'll be evaluated by an outsider. Many departments do their own monitoring. Also, there are departments that follow up and evaluate. The Bureau of the Budget (BB), for example, is one that monitors the spending of other departments. The Bureau of the Budget also evaluates projects,

and outcomes in terms of a return to the public. The Office of the Auditor General (OAG) also does evaluations.// In the TAO's area, it takes care of their job and that of the municipality. If there is something that is not good, we can protest and hand the issues over, and that's it.//

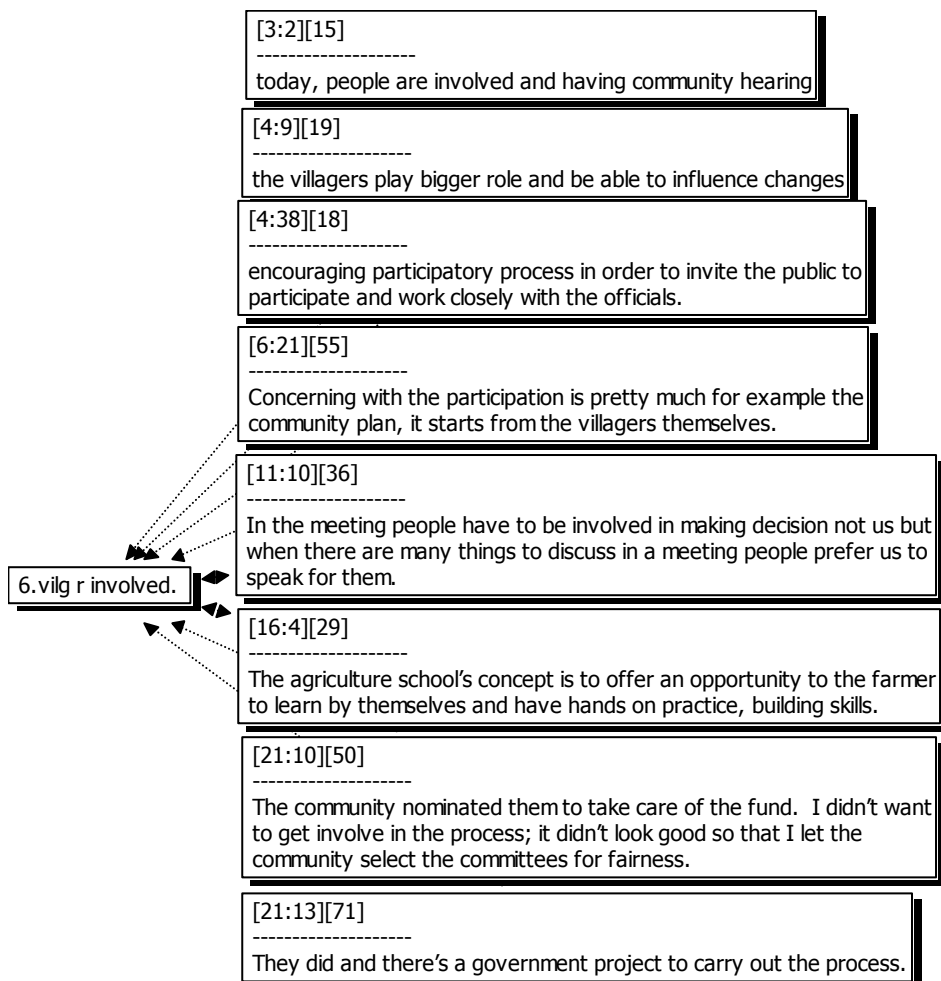
Question 6: How good is the co-operation between the officials and villagers?

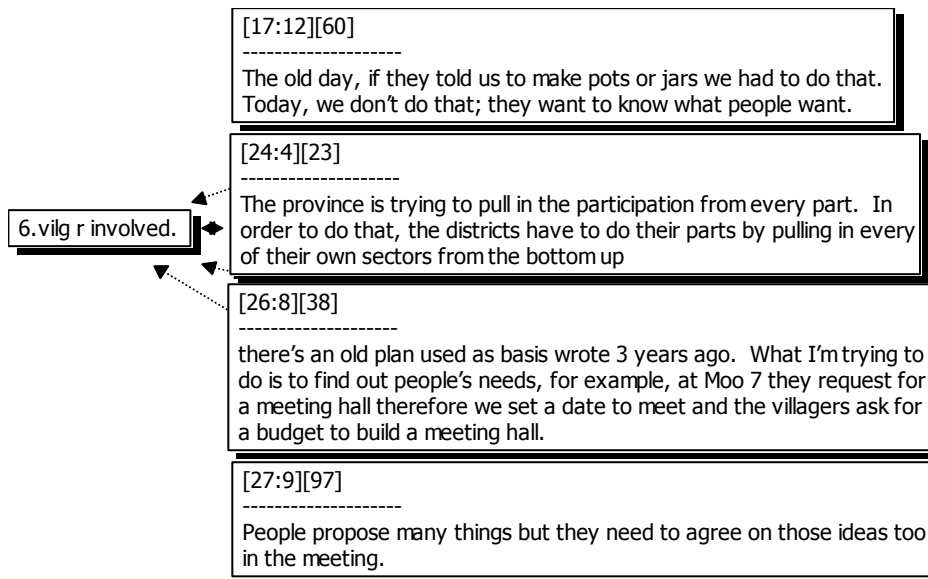
Villagers might cooperate when they are asked to fill in details of their income; but, they do not fill in the real figures. They believe that if they fill in how much they really earn, the government might find out and tax them. The attitudes of villagers and officials toward one another must be adjusted so that they will gain mutual trust that is necessary in working together. Nevertheless, there are two types of people, specifically, those who are ready to co-operate, and those who do not care about the community. Eight themes are presented as followed:

QF6: Cooperation



1. **Villagers are involved** Villagers might cooperate when they are asked to fill in details of their income; but, they do not fill in the real figures. They believe that if they fill in how much they really earn, the government might find out and tax them. This theme is broken down into 2 maps for ease of understanding.

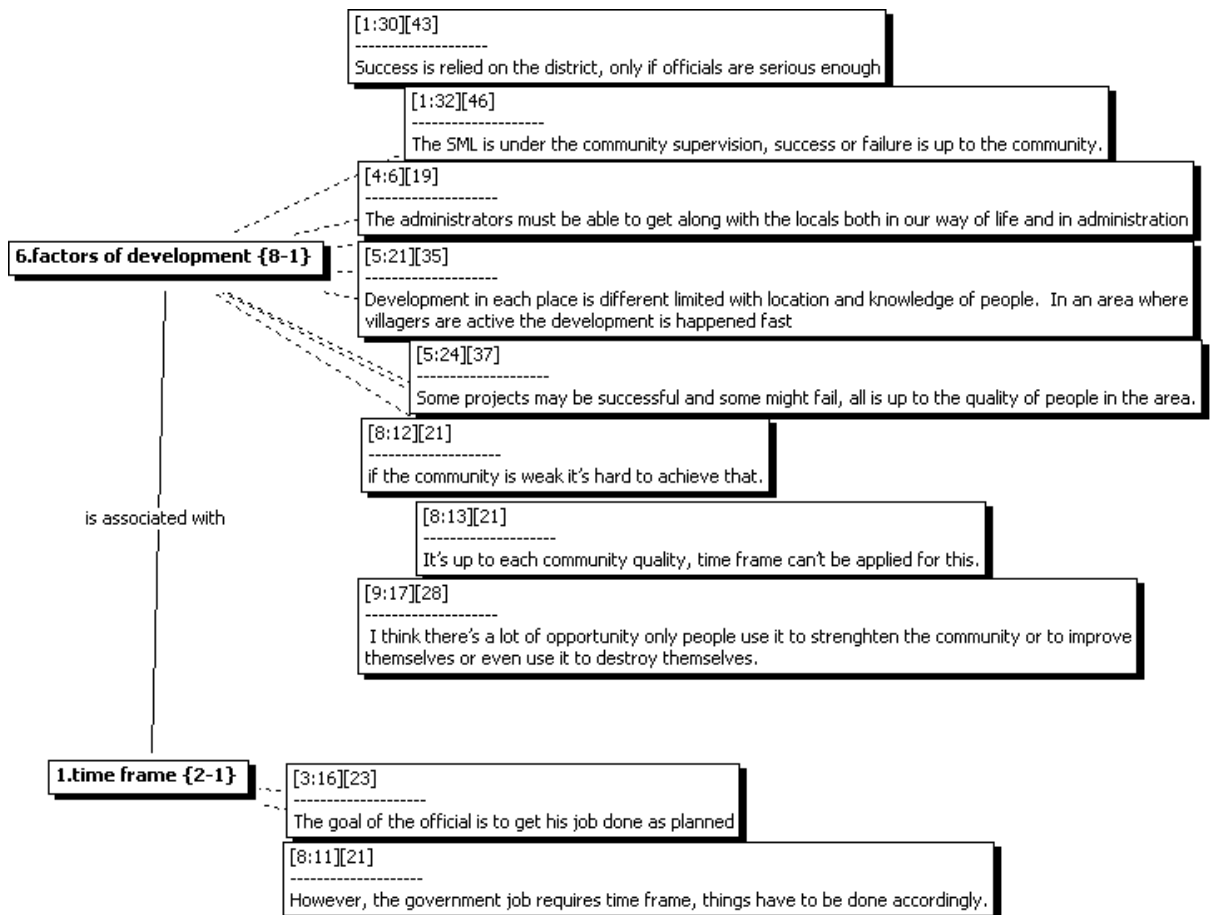




The excerpts below are demonstrated to support the theme above:

Encouraging any participatory process in order to invite the public to participate and work closely with the officials.//There are outstanding group leaders who represent villagers. They're able to lead the group, attend to demands and reach conclusions. People will discuss troubles that they have, doing so in a community meeting, and also propose related ideas. Earlier, the district organised district development plans; but, today, it is replaced with the province plan that integrates all plans and villagers are included through the grass roots plan. Participation is necessary for any community plan, and it starts with the villagers themselves.//Today, the government doesn't order; the grassroots level will initiate things and move it up to the main root. In the old days, if they told us to make pots or jars we had to do that. Today, we don't do that; they want to know what people want. //There must be a community plan by listening to the people in the villages, then moving up to the sub-district level, district and then to the provincial level. Most of them still need work. They are not very good yet. It is one picture that we try to reach the people. It is what we do. The province is trying to pull in participation from every part. In order to do that, the districts must do their part by pulling in everything from their own sectors, from the bottom up.//People propose many things; but, they need to agree on those ideas in the meeting.//

- 2. Factors of development** There are two ideas in pursuing development; one is the community itself in feeling the need for development and getting involved. The other is that officials must get along with villagers in order to help them. The time frame of any development plan is a barrier. Not all communities can keep the same pace of development.

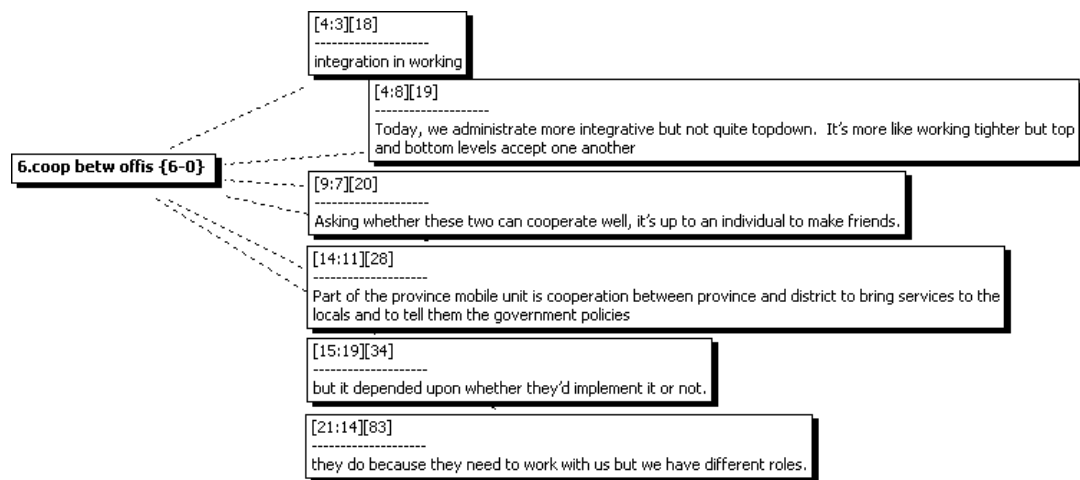


The following excerpts are reinforced the dimension above:

The SML is under community supervision and, therefore, success or failure is up to the community.//Some projects may be successful, and some might fail. All is up to the quality of people in the area. The factors of success or failure could be related to geographical and demographic issues, or knowledge of the locals themselves. Development in each place is different, and limited due to the location and knowledge level of people. In an area where villagers are active, development can happen fast.//..if the community is weak, it's hard to achieve that.// The projects have really reached the locals; but, whether people have been living better today, I think it's up to the community itself. Money transferred while you are unprepared creates

disparity, chaos, debts, and extravagant spending. People must understand that they can use this chance to develop their community in various ways and to spend in a way to benefit them. I think there's a lot of opportunity for people to use it to strengthen the community or to improve themselves or even use it to destroy themselves.

3. Cooperation between officials The system forces officials to work together and to raise issues for discussion between departments.

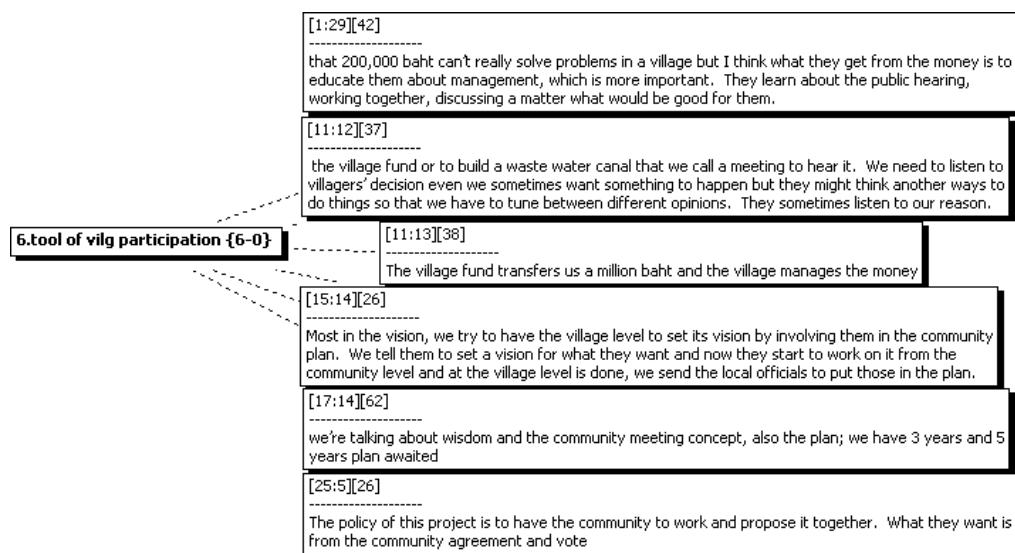


This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

Today, we administer in a more integrated manner; but, not quite top-down. It's more like working tighter, plus, top and bottom levels accept one another.//Asking whether these two can cooperate well, it's up to the individual to make friends. // We do coordinate with them. They do because they need to work with us; but, we have different roles.//

4. Tool of villager participation

Projects and activities the government introduces to the grassroots are tools to get villagers to participate and to learn about the process of community management, writing plans, public participation, and budgeting.



The above dimension is supported by the following comments:

That 200,000 baht can't really solve problems in a village. But, I think what they get from the money is to educate them about management, which is more important.

They learn about the public hearing, working together, and discussing a matter t hat would be good for them.//The village fund to build a waste water canal means that we call a meeting to hear it. We need to listen to the villagers' decision, even if we sometimes want something to happen, but they might think of others ways to do things so that we have to come up with something between different opinions. They, sometimes, listen to our reasoning.//Mostly, we try to have the village set its vision by involving them in the community planning process. We tell them to set a vision for what they want, and now they start to work on it from the community level and when the village level is done, we send local officials to put those in the community plan.

5. **Advice and training** Officials coach villagers in writing community plans and help them in the process to reach a collective decision.

	<p>[1:31][44] ----- the village that might not be ready for the project or not quite understand it, my assistant will coach them, give them advice.</p>
<p>6.advice/training {3-0}</p>	<p>[2:11][25] ----- the officials act as their coach, only the villagers state their wants. But, the villager's leaders are quite strong in this and know about these 3 dimensions, they do know.</p>
	<p>[25:6][28] ----- The official team is not supposed to direct what should be doing. The team only gives advices but the meeting makes a decision. We can't decide it for them.</p>

This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

If a village might not be ready for the project, or not quite understand it, my assistant will coach them, and give them advice. //Officials act as their coach; only the villagers state their wants. But, the village leaders are quite strong in this regard and know about these three dimensions. They do know.//The official team is not supposed to direct what should be done. The team only gives advice and the meeting makes a decision. We can't decide it for them.//

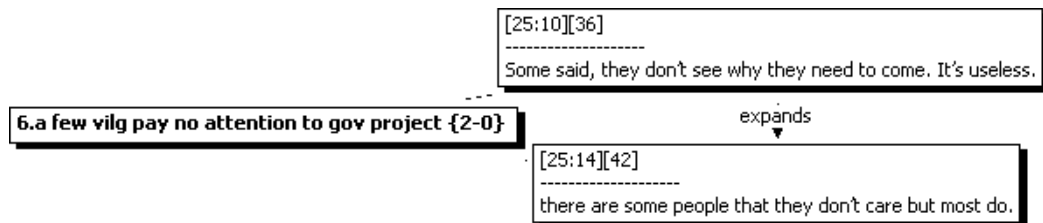
6. **Community participation** Participation among the villagers is found to be acceptable, even it is not a 100%.

	<p>[12:6][44] ----- that was part of the participation of the community like what we wanted to do</p>
<p>6.community participation {3-0}</p>	<p>[27:4][45] ----- 50% sometimes people are busy can't come to the meeting.</p>
	<p>[28:4][33] ----- Well, it can't be a 100% attendance...(noisy)...but they are quite cooperative.</p>

The following excerpts support the above dimension:

That was part of the participation of the community, just like what we wanted. //Some people don't think it's their business. Sometimes, 50% of people are busy and can't come to the meeting. //Some say they don't have time, and some are lazy, tired, or want to watch TV. Well, it can't be a 100% attendance... but, they are quite cooperative.//

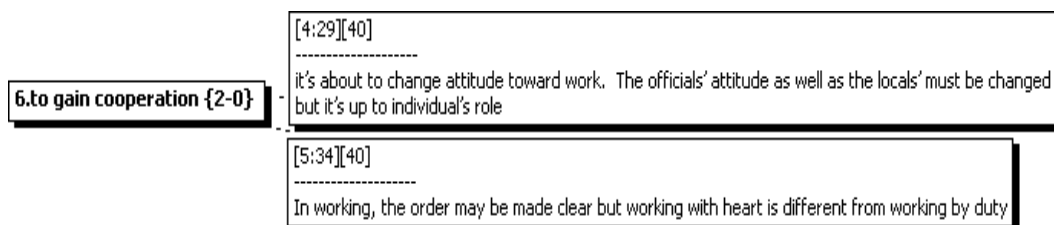
7. **A few villagers pay no attention to the government project** Some villagers do not pay attention to join meetings while some do not think meeting matters to them.



Below are the excerpts to support the dimension above clearly demonstrated via the following:

Some said, they don't see why they need to come. It's useless. //..there are some people who don't care but most do.

8. **To gain cooperation** The officials believe that to gain cooperation from the locals both the officials and villagers need to adjust their attitude for through common interest.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

It's about a change in attitude toward work. The officials' attitude, as well as that of the locals, must be changed but it's up to individual's //In working, the order may be made clear but working with heart is different from working by duty.

Question 7: Do the officials have opportunities to work or perform some activities autonomously?

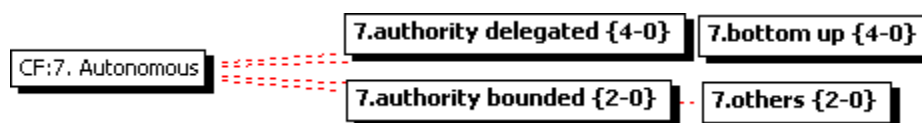
Today, grassroots folk have more channels to direct their thoughts and troubles to top government officials. A community plan must be written from the bottom up, and consolidated at the district level. In some local areas, members established a fund to support their community.

Each government unit has limited authorisation. Beyond that the issues must be handed over to higher level units; as a result, villagers must wait for a decision.

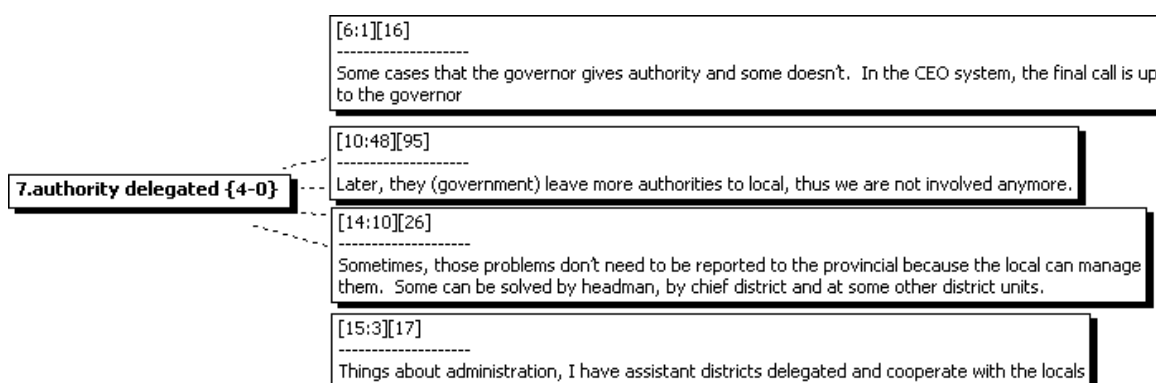
The grassroots are focused and included in several projects that are designated in the 9th NESD plan, especially in relation to community planning that will be integrated with the provincial plan later on. In some villages, there are opinion leaders who can speak for the group and can form a group to initiate a project to serve the group's needs.

Officials deal with jobs within their area of authority. Otherwise, the issue will be handed over to those who have direct authority to deal with, and solve, those problems.

QF7: Autonomous



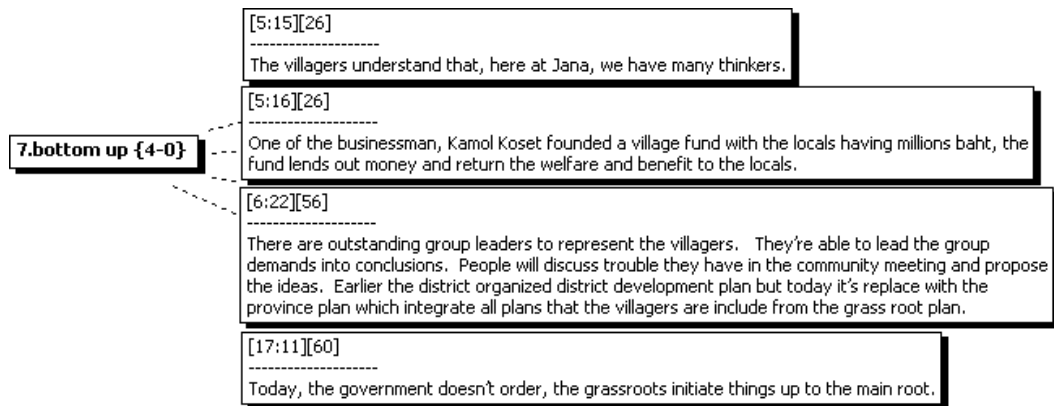
1. **Authority delegated and bounded** The administration allows some degree of authority to work; but, is not totally free to solve the problems for the villagers.



The dimension shown above is supported by the following excerpts:

There are some cases where the governor gives authority, and some where he doesn't. In the CEO system, the final call is up to the governor.//Later, the government leaves more authority with locals; thus, we are not involved anymore.//Sometimes, those problems don't need to be reported to the provincial people because the local ones can manage them. Some can be solved by headman, by the chief district and by some other district units.//Some problems which are within the scope of authorities can be solved that way. Otherwise, people need to wait.//

2. **Bottom up** Officials explain, and give example, to make it evident that villagers, nowadays, discuss their community problems together and are capable of helping one another in their community.



The dimension above is reinforced by the following comments:

There are outstanding group leaders to represent villagers. They're able to lead the group, assess demands and reach conclusions. People will discuss any trouble that they have in the community meeting and will also propose ideas. Earlier, the district organised a district development plan. But, today, it's replaced with the province plan which integrates all plans that the villagers include from their grass root plan.//

One of the businessmen, Kamol Koset, founded a village fund with the locals having millions of baht, and the fund lends out money for the benefit of the locals.//

Today, the government doesn't order; the grassroots initiate things and move them up to the main root.//

3. Authority bounded

7.authority bounded {2-0}

[15:20][39]

People who have poverty problem we fix it at the cause of the problem. Some problems can be solved; some have to wait for the provincial's help. The part that we involve solving is about debts, loan of the agricultures

[15:41][83]

Some problems which are in the scope of authorities would be done otherwise people need to wait.

Below are the excerpts supporting this theme:

If people who have a poverty problem we fix it at the cause of the problem.
Some problems can be solved; some have to wait for the help of the province.
The part that we get involve solving in is about debts, the loan of
agriculture.// Some problems which are in the scope of authorities would also
be done otherwise people need to wait.//

4. Others Different level of officials has different authority allowed. Local leaders may assign regulation between the villagers while the district officials need an agreement or permission from the provincial officials to do things.

7.others {2-0}

[6:2][16]

Sometime we can propose an issue for an agreement from the CEO committee.

[21:11][56]

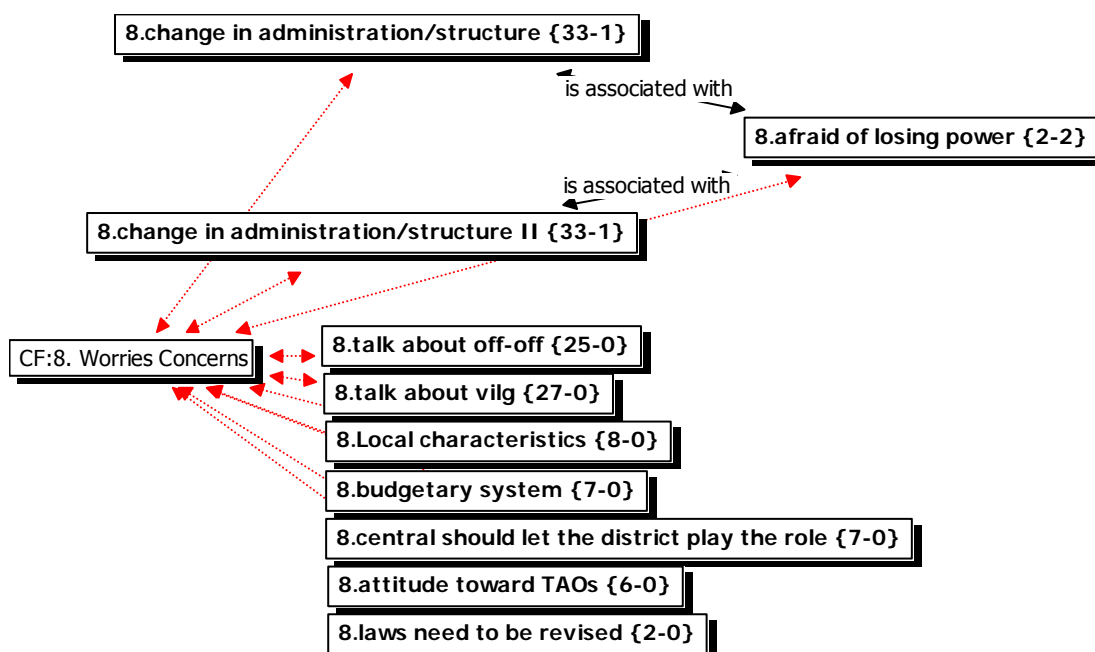
We require the borrower has 2 or 3 guarantors.

The above dimension is supported by the following comments:

Sometime we can propose an issue for an agreement from the CEO committee.//
We require that the borrower has 2 or 3 guarantors.//

Question 8: What are those worries or concerns in your working environment or society?

NETWORK MAP:



QF8: Worries and concerns Top officials in the central areas are perceived to withhold most authority, even if most operations are at the district level. The central authority should implement policy and play a support role in achieving the goals. Laws should be revised so that officials have guidelines to follow when villagers ask for advice.

Officials notice that the officials responsible for an area still do not know about their geographical area and have no idea about local agriculture, with this making people feel that they have no one to turn to.

Changes in administrative structure are a concern for officials who must keep up with those changes. There are improvements, but some change results in confusion for both the officials and the villagers.

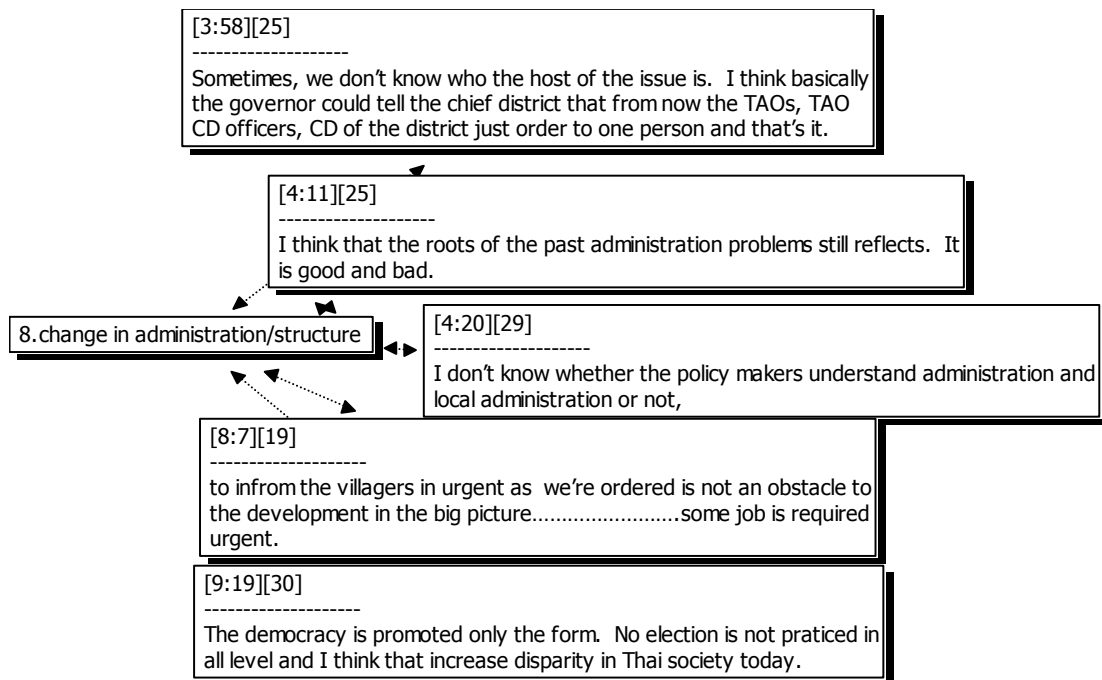
To explain each topic at his point, there are nine themes of answers which are:

1. Change in administration and administrative structure which the official seemed to talk about a great deal and, therefore, this topic is divided into two parts and with one associated with the fear of losing power,
2. The opinions that the officials have of each other,

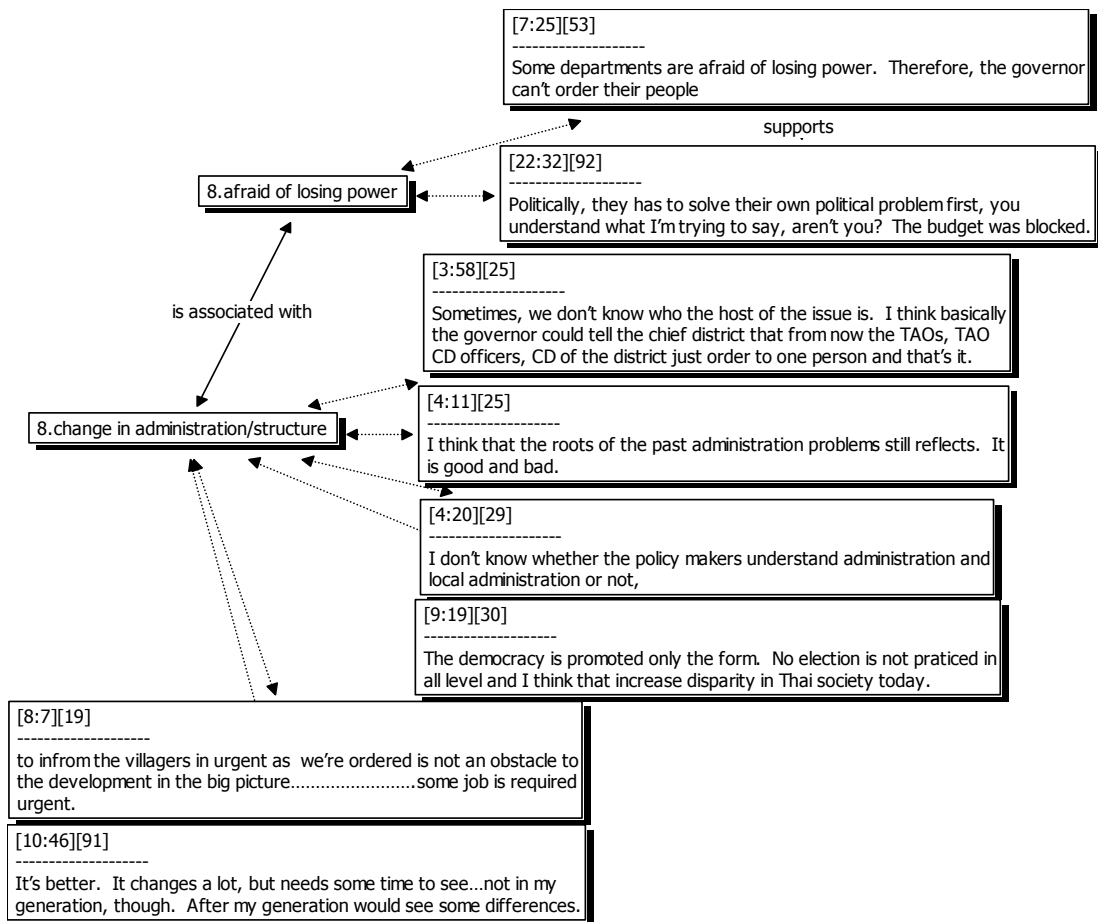
3. The explanation of the characteristics of the locals,
4. The opinions of the official as to the interaction between the officials and the villagers,
5. The central government seems to withhold authority instead of delegating to the local officials,
6. Budgetary system is to be improved,
7. Attitude of the permanent government officials toward the TAOs; the villagers representatives, and,
8. Laws rectification is necessary.

- 1. Change in administration/structure Part I** Some changes in the administration structure is clear and understand as to related responsibilities and workflow. However, some officials do think that any such change is confusing and complex because they are not familiar with cross-functional work, while some work and authority was delegated to the local organisations.

Ia



Ib



These are excerpts related to the theme shown above:

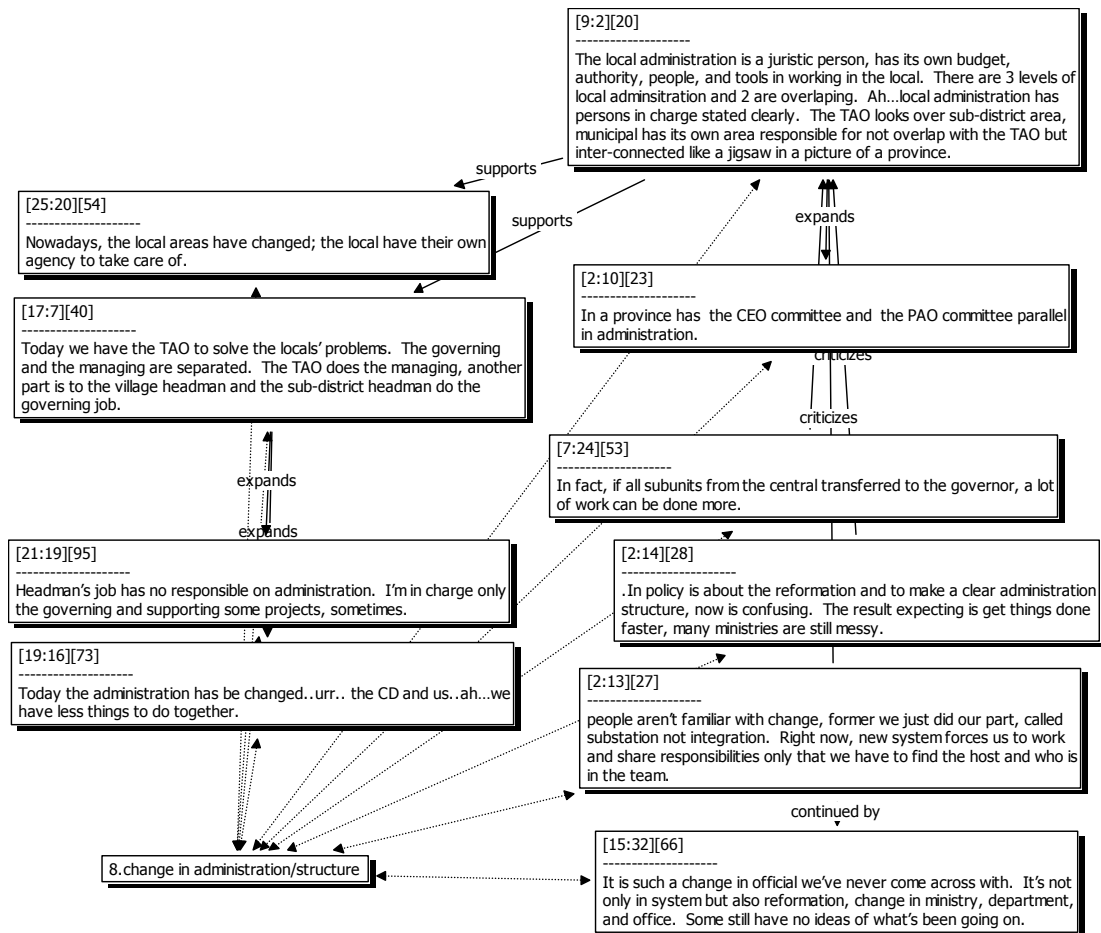
However, the budget that we may ask for not only depends on the priority we get. Other than that, it has to fit in provincial strategic planning, regional strategies and national plan.// People don't have expectation from the governor, in my opinion, especially people from here..urr..if you understand this area well enough. It's different from other places.// I don't have the direct discussion. However, what I felt is at least the administrative part of the district works is improving// The democracy is promoted only in form. No, voting is not practiced in any level and I think that this increases disparity in Thai society today.// It's better. It changes a lot, but needs some time to see...not in my generation, though. After my generation there would be some differences.

Afraid of losing power In this case the respondents referred to the CEO governor who has no direct authority to order some government official units or department, But instead, the role of the CEO governor is more like a facilitator, working between departments, rather than that of a commander.

This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

Politically, they must solve their own political problem first. You understand what I'm trying to say, don't you? The budget was blocked.//Some departments are afraid of losing power. Therefore, the governor can't order their people, they have to solve their own political problem first, and you understand what I'm trying to say, don't you? The budget was blocked.//

Change in administration/structure Part II

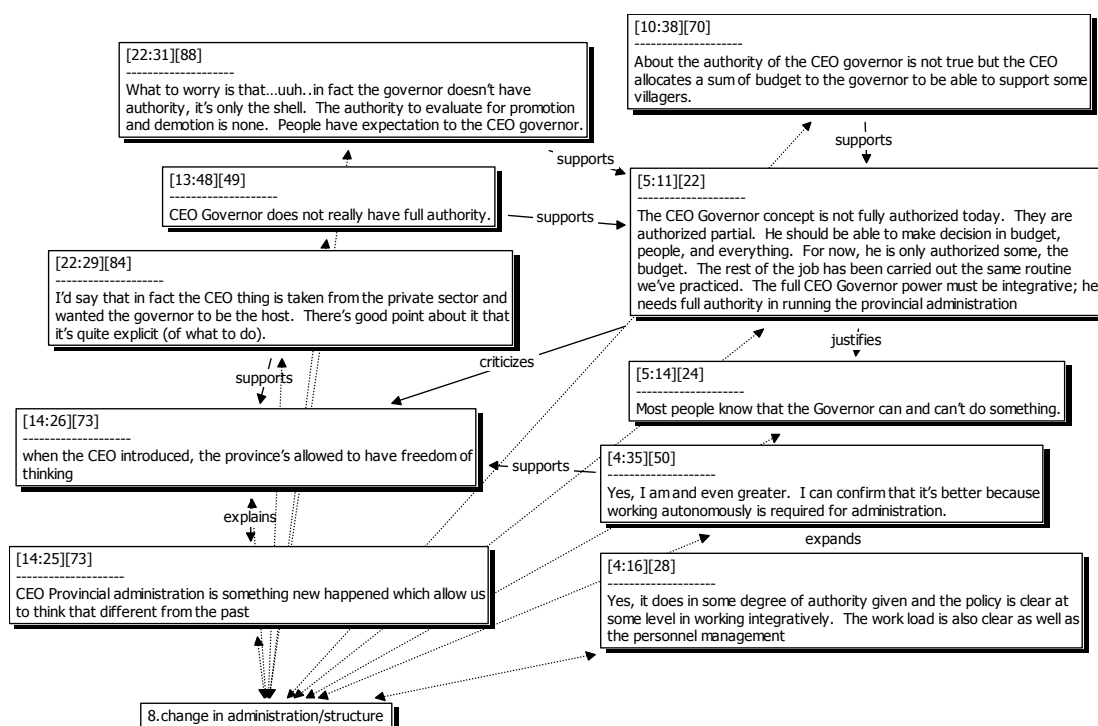


This theme is clearly demonstrated via the following:

..people aren't familiar with change, formerly we just did our part, called substation not integration. Right now, a new system forces us to work and share responsibilities only that we have to find the host and who is in the team.// It is such a change we've never come across it. It's not only in systems but also reformation, changes in ministry, department, and office. Some still have no idea of what's been going on.// In fact, if all subunits from the central part transferred to the governor, a lot more work can be done.// Nowadays, the local areas have changed; the local have their own agency to take care of.//In terms of policy, it is about reformation and to make a clear administration structure, now it is confusing. The expectation is to get things done faster, but many ministries are still messy.// The local administration is a juristic person, has its own budget, authority, people, and tools in working at the local level. There are 3 levels of local administration and 2 are overlapping. Ah...local administration has persons in charge stated clearly. The TAO looks after

a sub-district area, municipal has its own area and is responsible for not overlapping with the TAO but it is inter-connected like a jigsaw in a picture of a province.

Change in administration/structure Part III

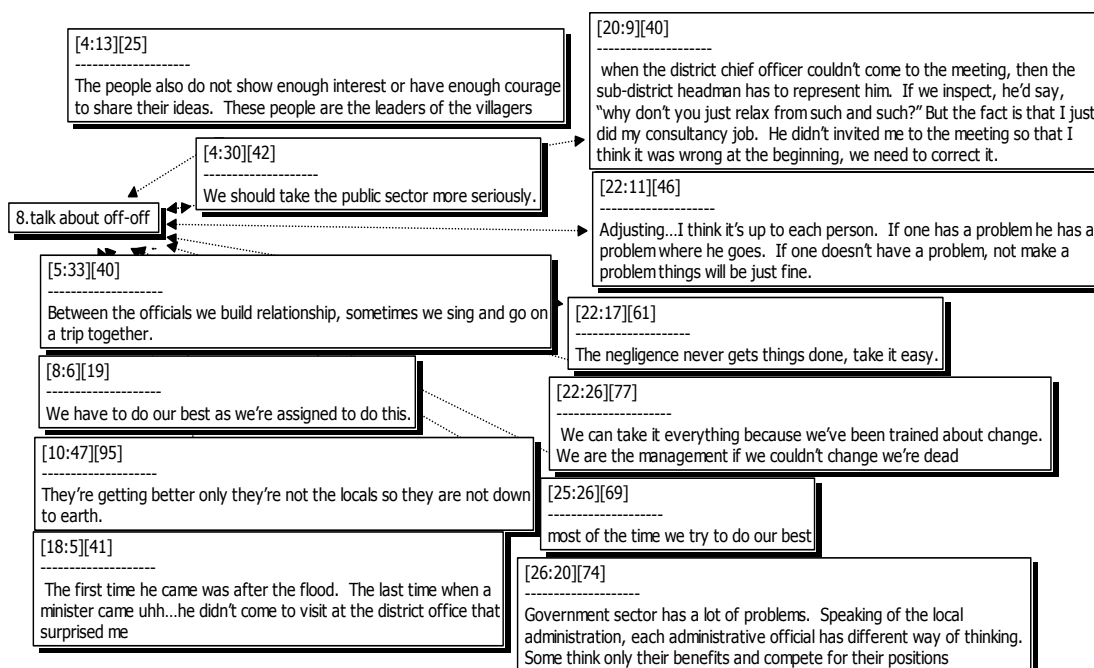


The following was said in support of the above dimension:

What to worry is that...uuh..in fact the governor doesn't have authority, it's only the shell. The authority to evaluate for promotion and demotion is none. People have expectation to the CEO governor.//Yes, it does have some degree of authority given and the policy is clear at some level in working in an integrated way. The work load is also clear as well as the personnel management//Yes, I am and even greater. I can confirm that it's better because working autonomously is required for administration.// when the CEO introduced, the province's allowed to have freedom of thinking

2. Talk about off-off Four problems concern the officials. First, influential persons put pressure on villagers so as to gain group benefits, especially during an election period. Second, social perspectives have changed in terms of the way that people look at agriculture as a career; the new generation seems to shift to other careers that pay higher incomes. Also, social values have focused on materialism. Volunteers for community jobs are rare. People create more debts. Third, benefits from government projects are not effectively or efficiently directed to villagers. Fourth, some officials, especially senior ones, have limited education and are not familiar with official terms in English, such as per the SML project (Small, Medium, and Large project—the project that the government grants an amount of money which that depend upon the size of the villager-small, medium, or large size of village).

I

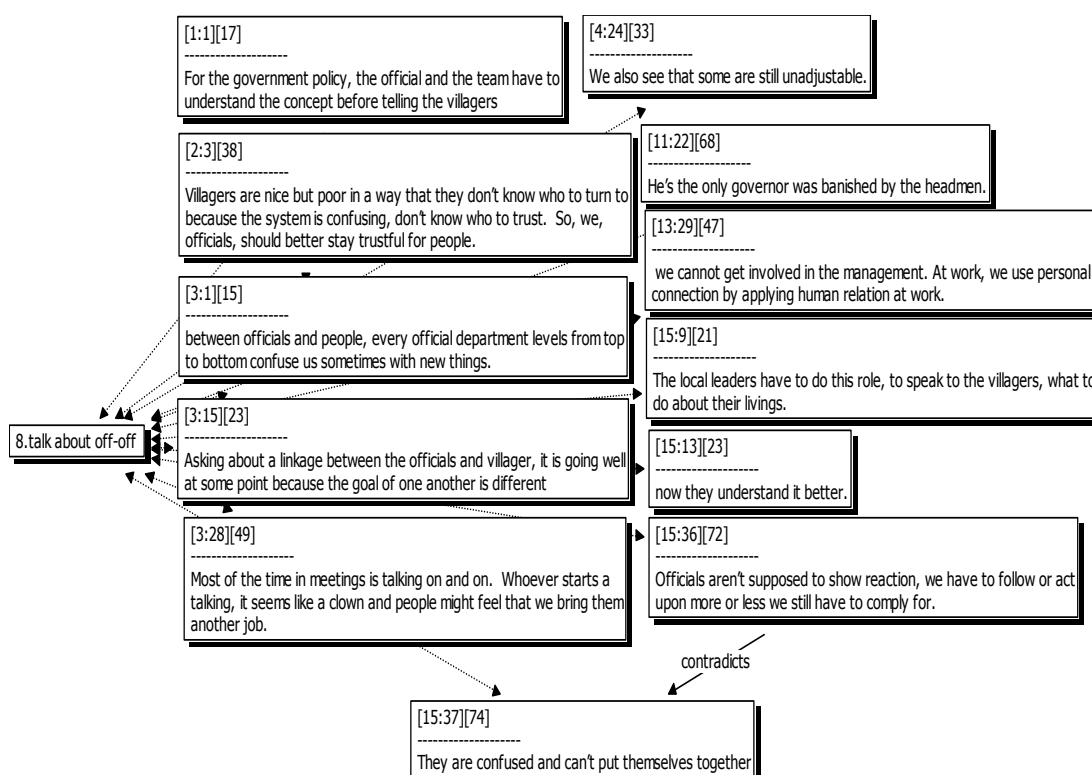


Below are the excerpts to support the dimension above clearly demonstrated via the following:

The people also do not show enough interest or have enough courage to share their ideas. These people are the leaders of the villagers//Between the officials we build relationship, sometimes we sing and go on a trip together.// They're getting better only they're not the locals so they are not down to earth.// The first time he came was

after the flood. The last time when a minister came uhh...he didn't come to visit at the district office that surprised me//Adjusting...I think it's up to each person. If one has a problem he has a problem where he goes. If one doesn't have a problem, not make a problem things will be just fine.// Government sector has a lot of problems. Speaking of the local administration, each administrative official has different way of thinking. Some think only their benefits and compete for their positions

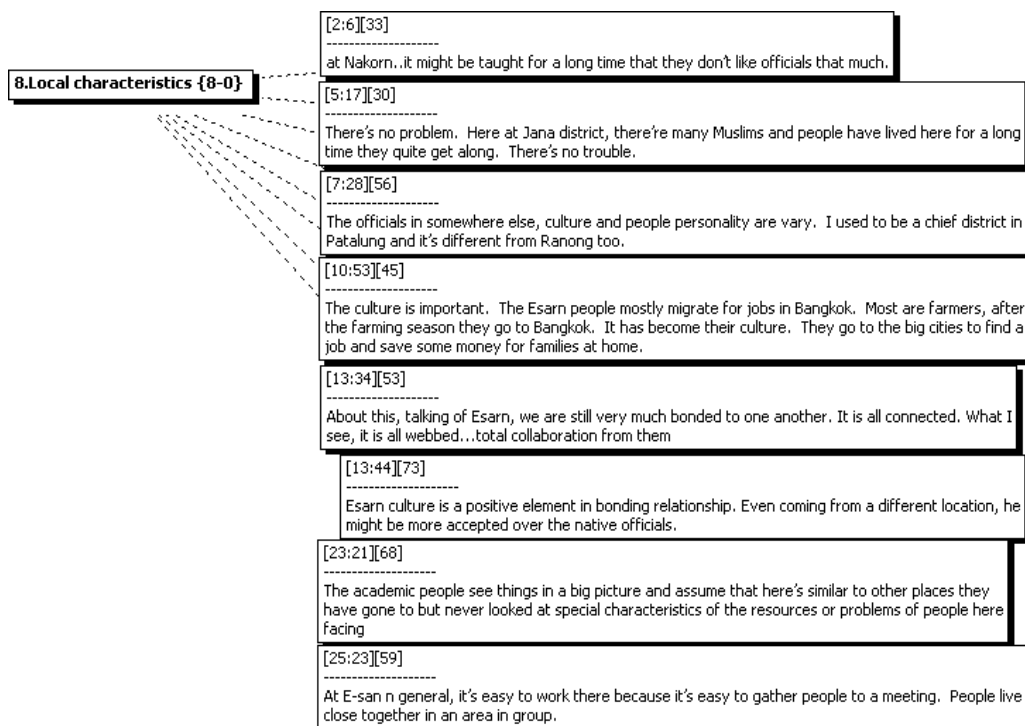
II



These are excerpts responded to the above demonstration:

For the government policy, the official and the team have to understand the concept before telling the villagers// between officials and people, every official department levels from top to bottom confuse us sometimes with new things.// Most of the time in meetings is talking on and on. Whoever starts a talking, it seems like a clown and people might feel that we bring them another job.// we cannot get involved in the management. At work, we use personal connection by applying human relation at work.// Officials aren't supposed to show reaction, we have to follow or act upon more or less we still have to comply for.// They are confused and can't put themselves together.

3. Local characteristics As reported, Esarn locals seem to be friendly and open to people from other cultures. They commute for jobs, after the farming season, doing so between their hometown in North-eastern and Bangkok. Officials should have less trouble dealing with them. In the South, people seem to be straight forward and some were taught no to trust officials. However, each area has particular characteristics in terms of personal aspects, cultures, and resources, and it pays to be cautious.

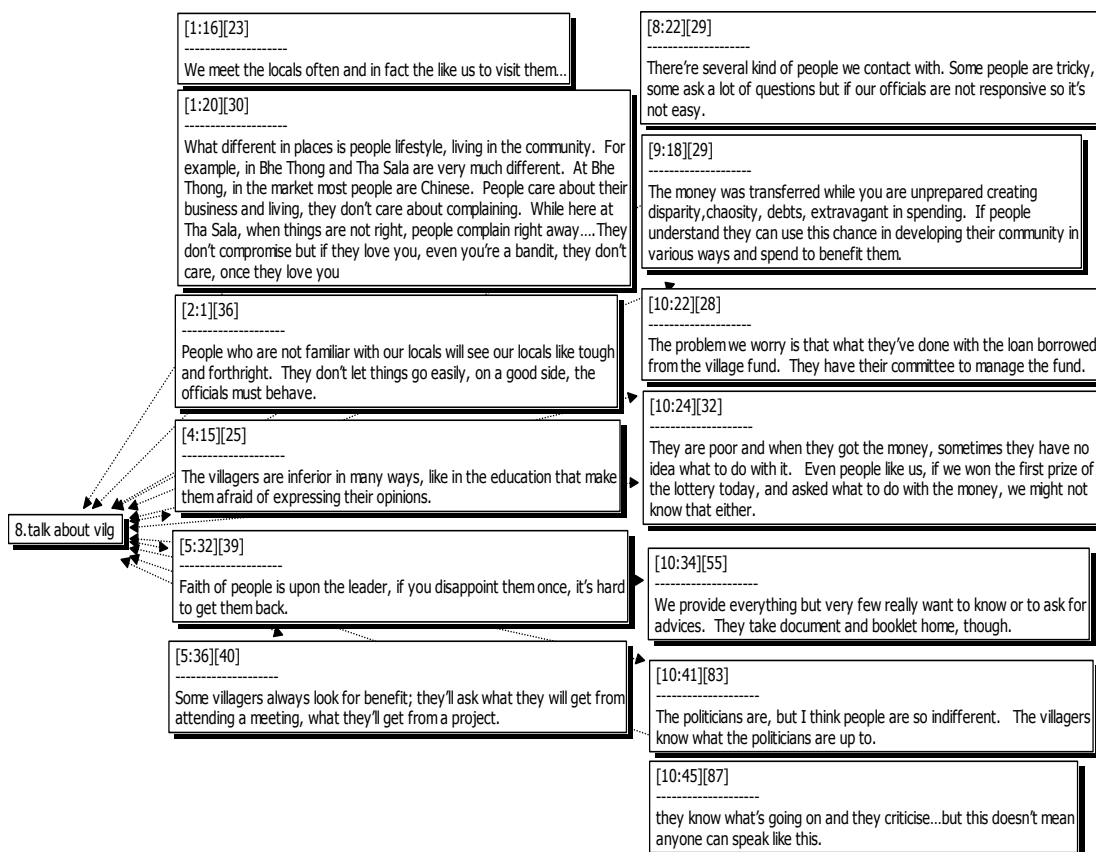


Below are the excerpts to support the dimension above clearly demonstrated via the following:

...at Nakorn...it might be taught for a long time that they don't like officials that much.//There's not a problem with the officials. The villagers are alright. The Esarn people are diligent. They always find things to do if they're in their hometown. //The culture is important. The Esarn people mostly go for jobs in Bangkok. Most are farmers. After the farming season, they go to Bangkok. It has become their culture. They go to the big cities to find a job and save some money for families at home.// The academic people see things in a big picture and assume that here is similar to other places they have gone to. But, they never looked at special characteristics of the resources, or problems that the people here are facing.

4. Talk about villagers The officials gives insights and how they view the villagers under this topic that there are some noticeable improvements in village where people ask question about the objectives of meetings instead of just showing up to attend them. Rights and demands are raised in discussion. However, people in each area have distinctive characteristic. In some areas, the officials are not convinced that the villagers are able to catch up with changes. Some villagers are naïve, and some are tricky. Therefore, the officials must be capable of dealing with all kind of villagers. Under-educated locals is also mentioned to be one of the problems in guiding them to understand the process of participation in community development, especially as this can affect people's self-confidence in giving opinions and when expressing themselves, as well as how they think about their living and the community. It is advisable that the officials should visit the villagers to get acquainted with one another and the people feel that the officials pay attention to their living.

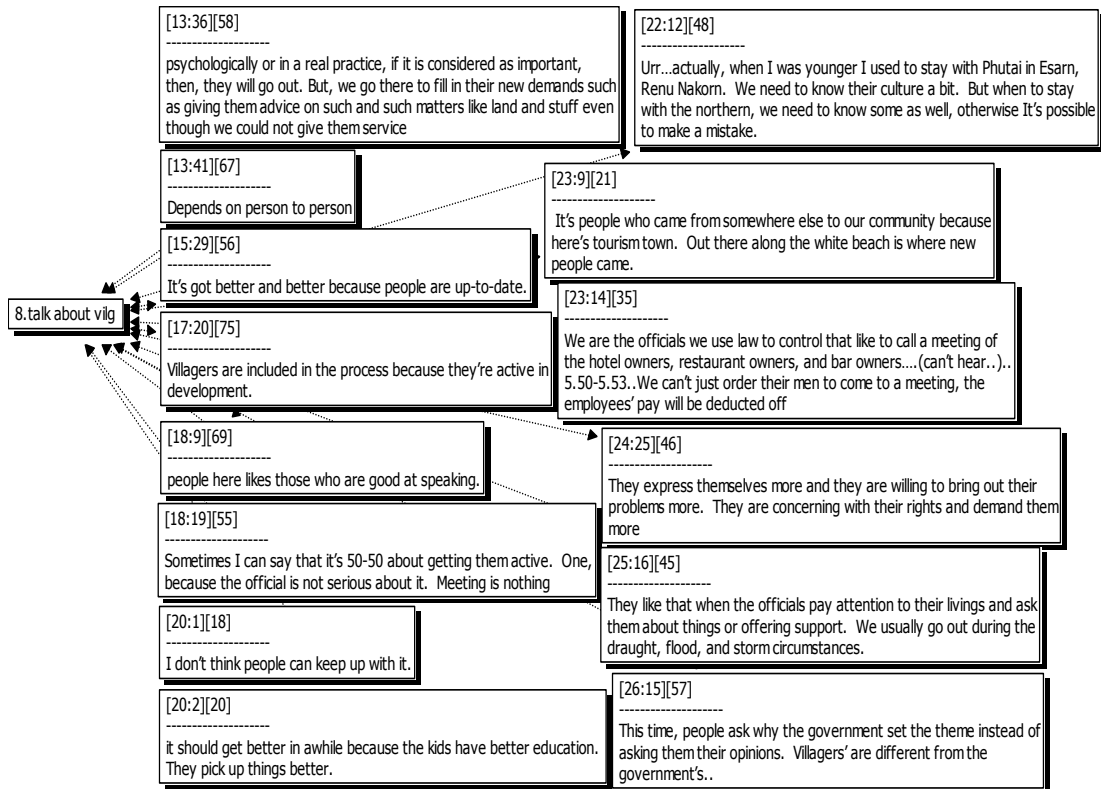
I



These are excerpts responded to the above demonstration:

We meet the locals often and in fact they like us to visit them...// People who are not familiar with our locals will see our locals like tough and forthright. They don't let things go easily, on a good side, the officials must behave.// The villagers are inferior in many ways, like in the education that make them afraid of expressing their opinions.// Some villagers always look for benefit; they'll ask what they will get from attending a meeting, what they'll get from a project.// They are poor and when they got the money, sometimes they have no idea what to do with it. Even people like us, if we won the first prize of the lottery today, and asked what to do with the money, we might not know that either.// they know what's going on and they criticise...but this doesn't mean anyone can speak like this.

II



The following excerpts support the above dimension:

..psychologically or in a real practice, if it is considered as important, then, they will go out. But, we go there to fill in their new demands such as giving them advice on such and such matters like land and stuff even though we could not give them service// It's got better and better because people are up-to-date.// Villagers are included in the process because they're active in development.// it should get better in awhile because the kids have better education. They pick up things better.// They express themselves more and they are willing to bring out their problems more. They are concerning with their rights and demand them more// They like that when the officials pay attention to their livings and ask them about things or offering support. We usually go out during the draught, flood, and storm circumstances.// This time, people ask why the government sets the theme instead of asking them for their opinions. Villagers are different from the government officials.

- 5. Central should let the district play the role** Centralisation still exists even though the decentralisation has been active for some time ago but the response from the officials show even of centralisation.

8.central should let the district play the role {7-0}

[1:25][38]

The CEO Governor policy, some don't understand even in the district level. The operation is not in the provincial level but it is a plan, policy, and strategic unit while the operation happens in the district level.

[4:17][28]

However, the Thai officials system is not perfect; some still depend on the center.

[4:28][35]

The central needs to understand and admit that province, district do the ground work not the central to hold all authority. It has to let go the district to play its role while the central directs the policy side to support coordination between the regional and local administration.

[9:1][16]

There are some special characteristic official units physically stand in the provincial but they still report to the central not to the governor. Urr...for example, all the units of the Department of Local Administration-DOLA-don't report to the governor but it leave them with us. There are many units like this, like schools and all education institutions are with the central.

[13:22][41]

regional management is independent?, of course not. Everything still depends on state policy, laws, and regulations.

[13:24][43]

asking whether we got what we demanded, it is uncertain because we do not have power. Sometimes, they don't consider us as the first priority, right?

[13:26][46]

The central government directly controls provincial and district level in which area management is not unified. Who can a District Chief assign work to? Only a few number of official units that directly report to a District Chief.

The following excerpts are reinforced the dimension above:

The CEO Governor policy, some don't understand even in the district level. The operation is not in the provincial level but it is a plan, policy, and strategic unit while the operation happens in the district level.//There are some special characteristic official units physically stand in the provincial but they still report to the central not to the governor. Urr...for example, all the units of the Department of Local Administration-DOLA-don't report to the governor but it leave them with us. There are many units like this, like schools and all education institutions are with the central.//The central government directly controls provincial and district level in which area management is not unified. Who can a District Chief assign work to? Only a few number of official units that directly report to a District Chief.

- 6. Budgetary system** The officials agree that the budget allocation is sparse. On the CEO Governor's side, he is allowed some budgeted funds to work around issues, even if it is small amount.

8.budgetary system {7-0}

[1:26][39]

what constrain us is the budget. The district has no money.

[4:26][33]

Some budgets were granted to us may be small but we use them to fill the gaps or solve things which are helpful but the big issues are impossible because the grants are too small to cover that.

[9:10][21]

the budgeting hasn't been changed but what is added up in the system is the CEO system which giving the governor a role to connect with the administration pertaining to the province strategies. It's more work for us.

[13:23][41]

Freedom is not the matter if there is no budget allocation.

[14:29][76]

The budgetary system needs to be worked out

[14:37][88]

right now in the officials units and also the local administration do know about its locals and what they needs. But, what we've given to them to serve them is not quite....the local administration itself has limitation, small budget.

[17:16][66]

I've talked to him about what the district level has been progressing in the development but has never mentioned the budget.

The following excerpts support the above dimension:

..what constrain us is the budget. The district has no money.//Some budgets granted to us may be small; but we use them to fill gaps or solve things that are helpful. But, the large issues are impossible because the grants are too small to cover that.// Right now, in the officials units, and also in the local administration, they do know about its locals and what they need. But, what we've given to serve them is not quite enough....the local administration itself has a limitation, being a small budget.

- 7. Attitude toward TAOs** The general impression of Tambon Administration Organisation members is not impressive, and the permanent officials see them as greedy and irresponsible representatives. They only care for their own benefits, rather than that of the villagers.

8.attitude toward TAOs {6-0}

[10:40][72]

For my personal view, the subjective things are not much especially in the Tambon Administrative Organization (TAO) or in the municipal have not created something subjective, only objective like building road. I asked them what about the basic need of living like the cleanliness, waste control, and sewage.

[10:49][95]

Here is a difficulty...even the city planning is authorized to the local in the next 5 years.

[12:8][61]

They were selected but after the job were done and that was it.

[19:22][90]

They worry about voice to support them to win the election

[20:4][20]

people aren't ready, they've no education. When these people are in the system, there'll be part of the advantage takers.

[21:18][90]

These people are obsessive with power..those guys in municipal, in TAO. They thought that they're so big and overacting. I don't like them.

This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

For my personal view, the subjective things are not much, especially in the Tambon Administrative Organisation (TAO), or in the municipalities that have not created something subjective, I only focus on the objective things, like building a road. I asked them about the basic needs of living, like cleanliness, waste control, and sewage.// They worry about voice to support them to win the election.// People aren't ready. They've no education. When these people are in the system, there'll become part of the advantage takers.

- 8. Laws need to be revised** Several laws are obsolete and some are not practical or as effective to the present days and change.

8.laws need to be revised {2-0}	[8:19][24] ----- There are hundreds to be revised
	[24:21][35] ----- The central government has to change or to amend the laws, the policy.

The following excerpts are reinforced the dimension above:

There are hundreds to be revised.// The central government must change or amend laws, and related policies.

5.3 Part 2 Villagers

Part 2 Semi-structured interviews with **villagers** were recorded, transcribed and analysed using Atlas ti.

In these interviews, villagers were asked eight questions. The replies from the respondents were recorded. Significant parts of the recordings were entered into Atlas.ti for analysis. The objective was to uncover how villagers reflect their understanding, particularly in terms of their interactions with officials.

This findings section would be presented by sequence of research questions which are the following:

- 1) How is the meeting patterns usually organised and conducted; formal or informal?
- 2) In what occasion the meeting will be called and how often meeting is called?
- 3) What is pattern of communication applied? (formal or informal)
- 4) What language (or dialect) is spoken in the meeting; whether the official language or terms are spoken?
- 5) How the information is rechecked or monitored for mutual understanding?
- 6) How good is the co-operation between the officials and villagers?
- 7) Do the villagers have opportunities to work or perform some activities autonomously?
- 8) What are those worries or concerns your working environment or society?

The findings will be explained question by question and each question will be selected excerpts to evident the villagers' experiences.

The following section provides overview findings responding to the research interview questions:

QF1: Patterns of communication

Monthly meetings, usually, are planned and scheduled, about which the community knows the dates and times to meet. In some villages, the headman, after considering possible content and importance, calls a meeting if there is a necessity to do so. Only a few villagers reported that a meeting is hardly ever called for in their area. However, a yearly meeting is organised when several officials from different departments were to summarise issues or to speak about government policy.

Local meetings seem to be less formal in terms of the language spoken; plus, the village leaders are local and are acquainted with the villagers. A document is not usually distributed to the villagers in relation to the meeting, although the meeting is still run by way of an agenda.

Discussions among officials, and between officials and villagers, are informative and top-down. The villagers feel that this is in order to keep them in line with the time-line.

QF2: Occasion of Meeting

Villagers learn the monthly schedule and will gather at the venue and, usually, meet where it is convenient for most villagers to come. That place could be a temple, the headman's place, a multi-purpose hall, or any place that can hold a number of villagers attending. The time of the meeting depends upon the nature of local activities.

QF3: Communication Pattern

There are three ways that the villagers will know about meetings: announcing it through the broadcasting tower, telling the news to neighbours where they, usually, are gathered, like the mosque or temple, and, local leaders sometimes go to the villagers' places to tell them.

QF4: Language Speaking

The central dialect is widely spoken and understood by both the officials and locals. However, the villagers explain that local leaders tell them of government policy and projects in their local dialect and try to make it simple for them to understand. The officials sometimes can speak the local language and admit that technical terms are not easy for the villagers to understand. Also, they realize that they use too many academic terms.

QF5: Monitoring and Rechecking

In meetings and forums, more villagers today ask questions when they have doubts or disagreements. However, many villagers in general, as well as the local leaders, keep low profiles. Those who do not ask questions in public said they were shy to speak up and, instead, asked a friend to ask a question for them, or asked someone they thought could explain what it was that they wanted to know.

Villagers explain that they would rather not report on officials' mistakes or their incompetence; doing so would convey that the villagers were not nice in making someone lose face and it was best to avoid creating hard feeling with officials.

QF6: Cooperation

Villagers reported that cooperation exists. Yet, there are people who do care and cooperate, and also those who do not care about the community at large. Villagers who usually join the community meetings are those who would like to keep themselves updated, and there are some who would come if they considered that there was any possible benefit for them. Some villagers hardly come to the meetings as they are busy with their jobs. Some villagers believe that it would not make a difference whether they joined the meeting, or not.

Local leaders have an influential role in recruiting people to join in community activities as they are believed by the villagers.

Villagers recognize support coming from officials, which is being in the form of funds, exhibitions, career training, and the provision of advice.

QF7: Autonomous

Mostly, villagers rely on themselves before they ask for the help or opinion of local leaders, TAOs members or their closest officials.

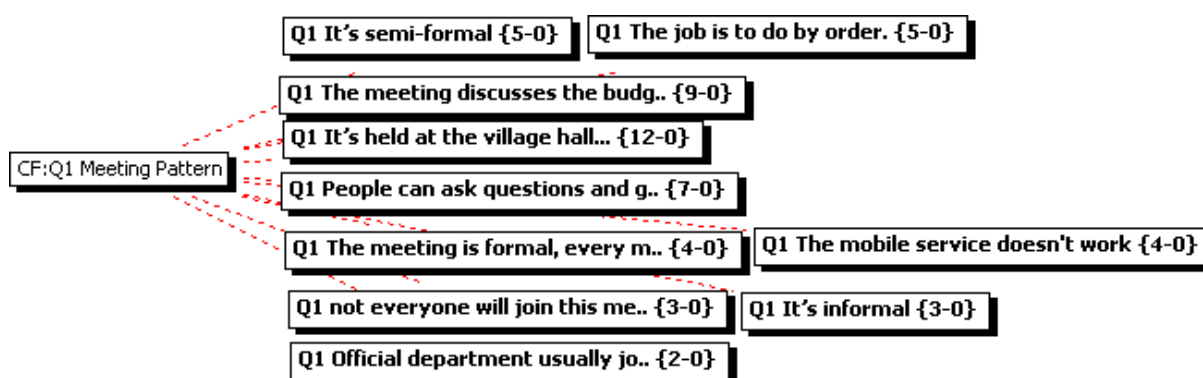
QF8: Worries and Concerns

The economy is a concern that was mentioned by most respondents. Education is seen as important in terms of local development, and this is a factor that is reflected

by local leaders and villagers. Further, villagers believe that the administration system and communication between the officials are the causes for misunderstanding. It was suggested that the officials should take the villagers more seriously when it comes to support and development. In fact, the officials should have capabilities in giving villagers advice and knowledge about that for which they are responsible. It is also evident that some local leaders take advantage of their position and only provide benefits to their own people. To ensure the safety of villagers, blowing a whistle is unlikely to happen. Like some said, they can only talk about that sort of thing.

Below is to elaborate the findings in detail and excerpts from the respondents.

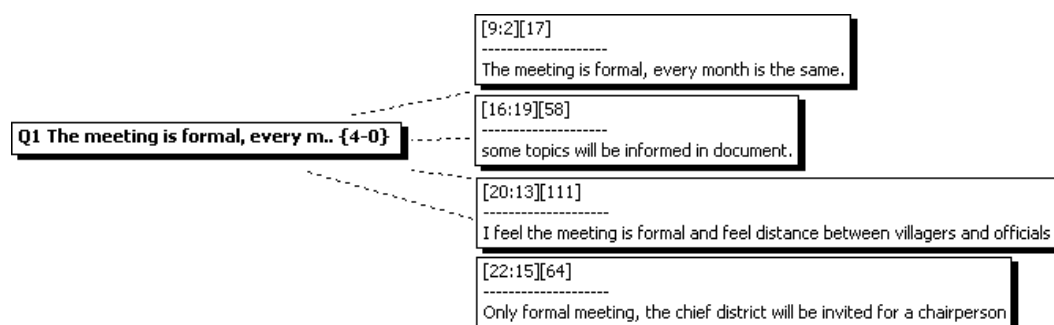
Question 1: How is the meeting patterns usually organised and conducted; formal or informal? There are 5 themes of answers from the villagers responded to this questions.



- 1) Three types of meetings that involve villagers are reported: formal, informal, and semi-informal,
- 2) Involvement of the villagers in the meeting,
- 3) Meeting venue,
- 4) Top-down order, and
- 5) Content discussion in the meetings.

1. **Three types of meetings** that involve villagers are reported: formal, informal, and semi-informal:

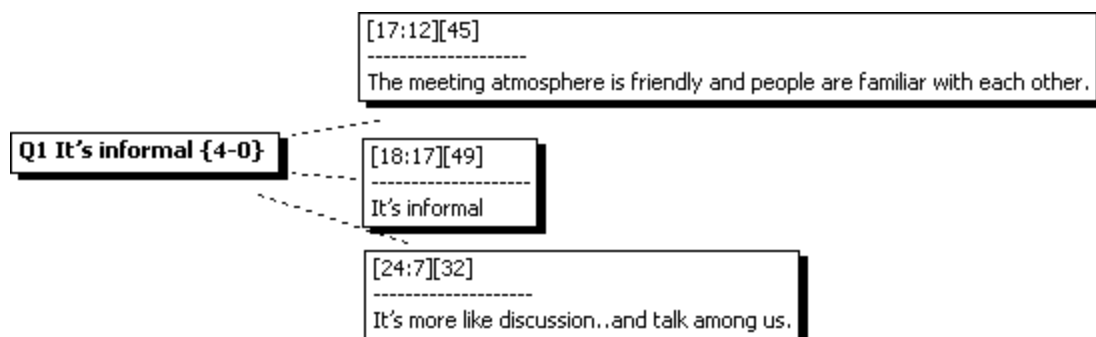
Formal meeting



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

...some topics will be informed in document//The meeting is formal, and every month is the same. //I feel the meeting as being formal and feel that there is a distance between villagers and officials.//

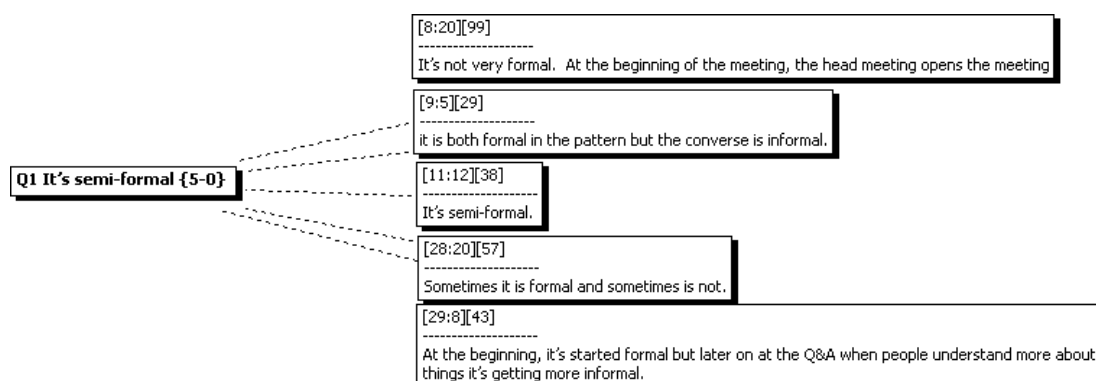
Informal meeting Some villagers do not detect any formality of a meeting. The atmosphere is friendly because the villagers are familiar with one another.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

It's informal.//The meeting atmosphere is friendly, and people are familiar with each other.//It's more like a discussion..and a talk among us.//

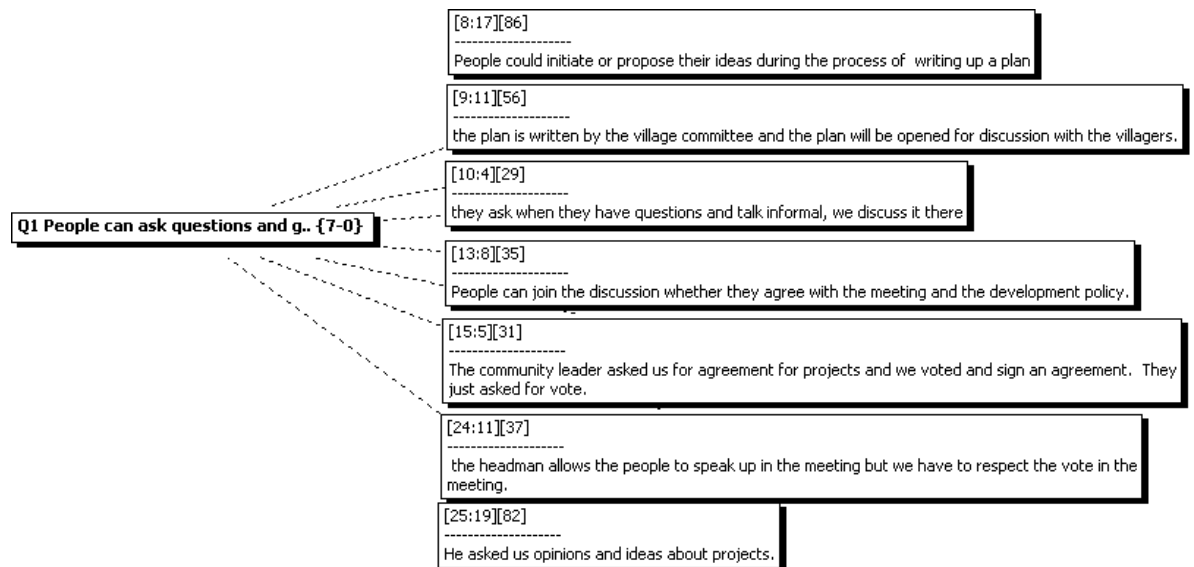
2. **Semi-formal** Some villagers feel that the meeting is semi-formal in that they are not acquainted with all of the participants or officials.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

It's not very formal. But, at the beginning of the meeting, the head person opens the meeting. // It is both formal in the pattern but the converse is informal.//At the beginning, it was formal. But, later on, with the Q and A when people understood more about things, was more informal.//

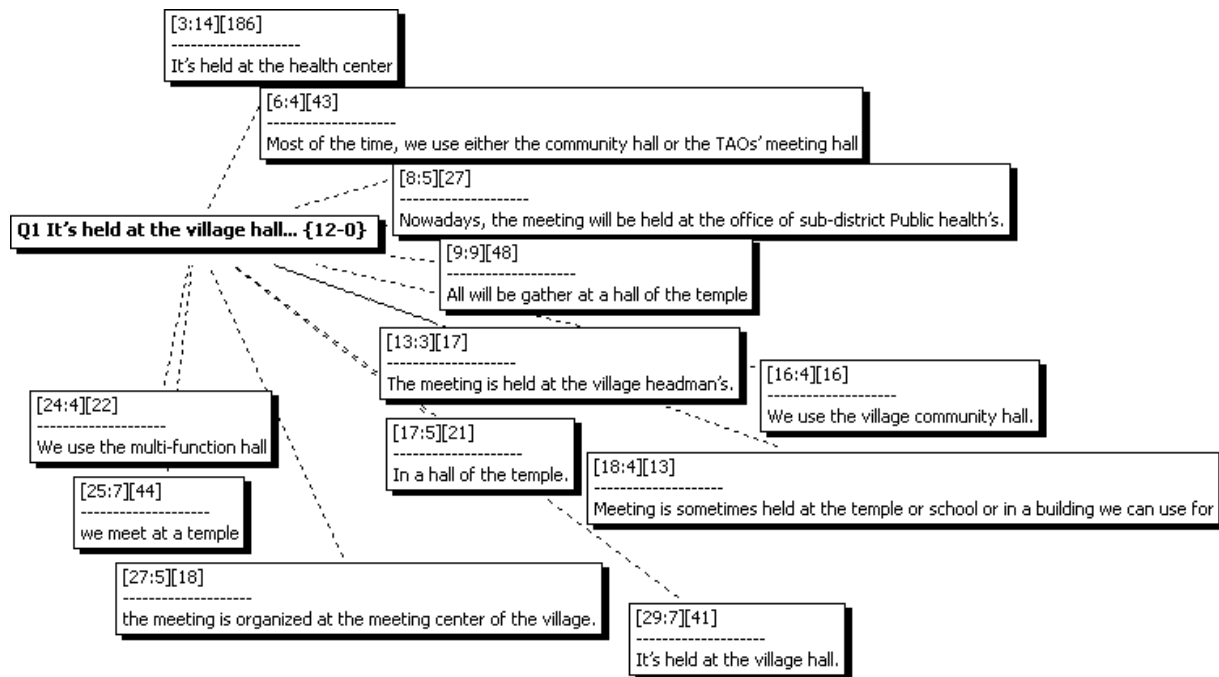
3. **Involvement of villagers in the meeting discussion.** At the village level, villagers seem to be involved and are asked for their opinion so that they can participate in the meeting. There are adequate chances that these people can ask questions and give their ideas in the meeting. Discussions and the asking of questions or the giving of opinions about the community plan are encouraged in the meeting.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

The plan is written up by the village committee and the plan will be the topic for discussion with the rest of the villagers.// The community leader asked us for an agreement on the projects and we voted, and signed an agreement. They just asked for a vote.// The headman allows the people to speak up in the meeting; but, we do need to respect any vote in the meeting.// He asked us for our opinions and ideas about projects.

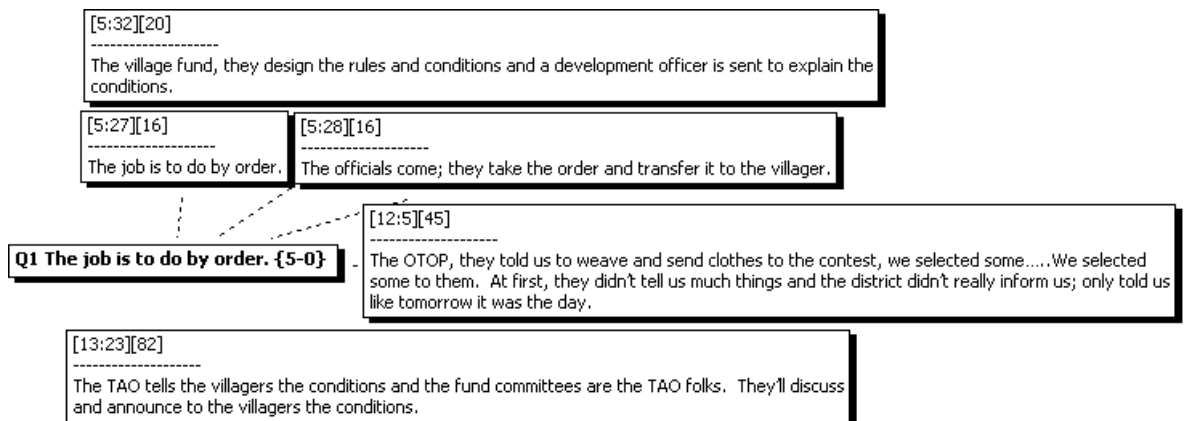
4. **Meeting venue.** The temple is still a place that some villages used for meetings, unless the village had funds to build a multi-purpose hall in which to gather people in the village. Also, sometimes, other official office building could be used for the purpose of holding meetings.



The following was said in support of the above dimension:

Nowadays, the meeting will be held at the sub-district office of the public health department.//The meeting is organised at the meeting centre of the village.//We meet at a temple.//It's held at the village hall.//We use the multi-function hall.

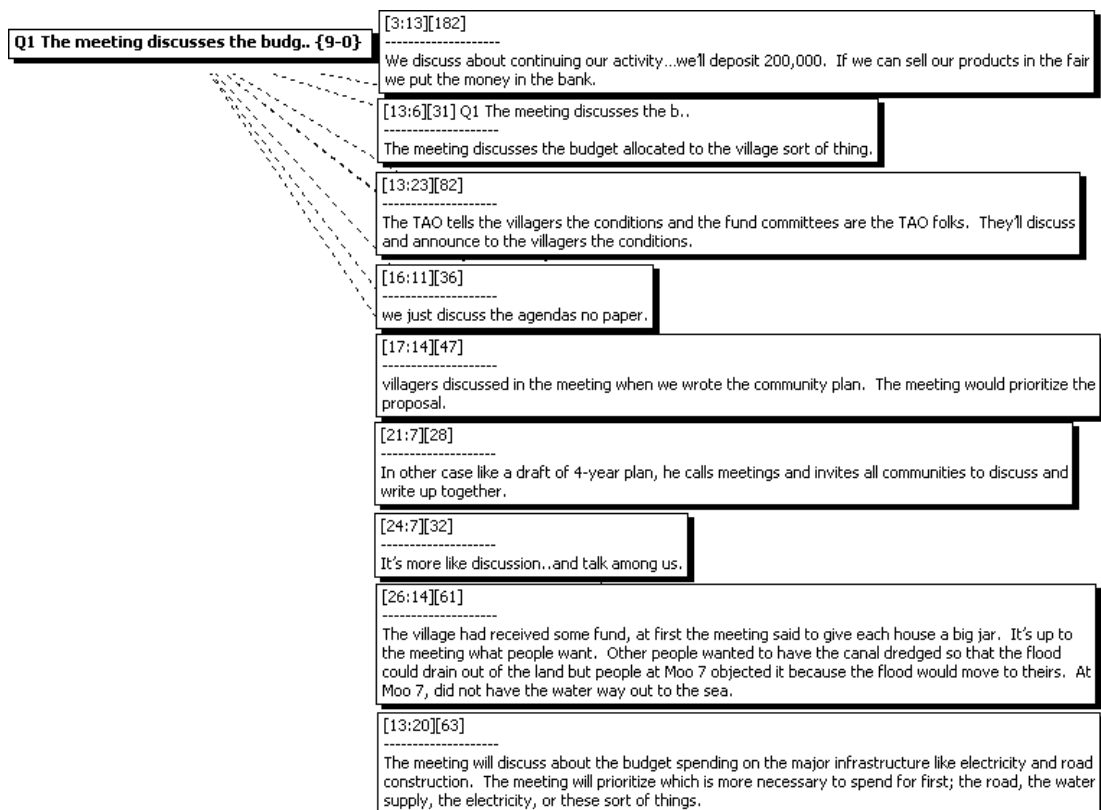
5. **Top-down order.** Villagers notice that officials relay orders for them to follow. The officials only transfer information that is line with what their superior has ordered. Often, villagers are rushed and even not given enough resources, because officials are ordered to finish a job.



These are excerpts responded to the above demonstration:

The village fund, they design the rules and conditions and a development officer is sent to explain the conditions.//The OTOP told us to weave and send clothes to the contest, we selected some... At first, they didn't tell us much and the district people didn't really inform us; they only told us one day that it was the next day.// The TAO tells the villagers the conditions, and the fund committee members are the TAO folks. They'll discuss, and then announce to the villagers, the conditions.//

6. **The meeting discusses the budget** The meeting is usually conducted by way of following an agenda, even though no document is given to the attendees. Budgeted spending, and infrastructure, in the village, are topics that are discussed regularly in meetings; otherwise, the village headman will provide his people with news and information. The writing of a community plan also needs opinions and agreement from the villagers in a meeting. In some villages, not all villagers can join the meeting, and a representative from each household can be sent to attend.

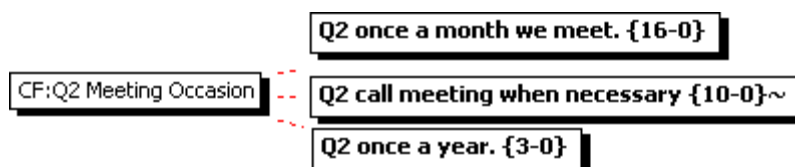


Below are the excerpts to support the dimension above clearly demonstrated via the following:

We discuss about continuing our activity...we'll deposit 200,000. If we can sell our products in the fair we put the money in the bank.//..villagers discussed in the meeting when we wrote the community plan. The meeting would prioritize the proposal. //The meeting will discuss budgeted spending on major infrastructure, like electricity and road construction. The meeting will prioritize what is more necessary, such as on what to spend the money first; for instance, the road, water supply, access to electricity, and these sorts of things.//

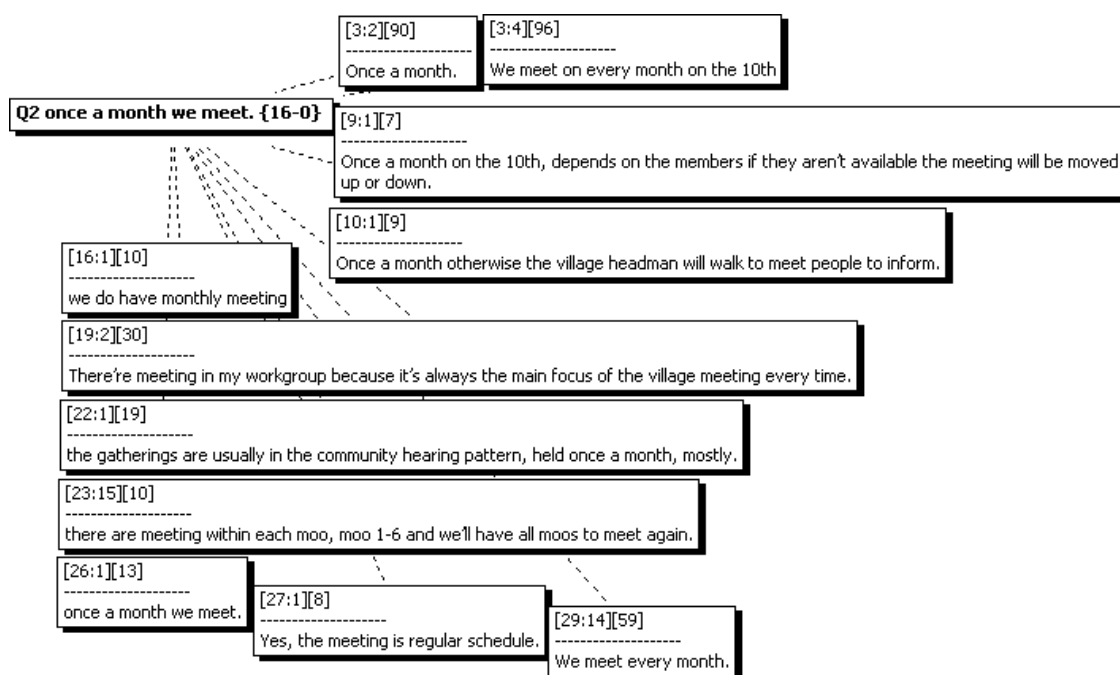
Question 2: In what occasion the meeting will be called and how often meeting is called? There are 3 mains meeting occasion:

- 1) Monthly meeting,
- 2) Meeting calls occasionally when there are issues considered necessary to call a meeting, and
- 3) Yearly meeting



1) Monthly meeting

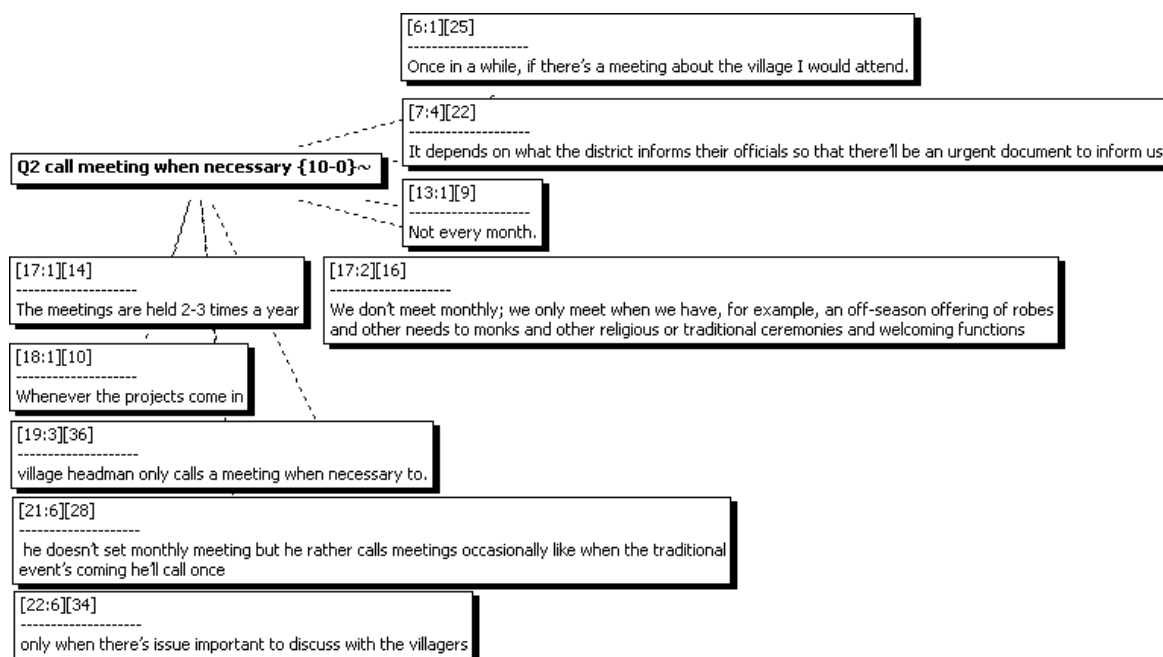
Meeting in the villages can be scheduled on a monthly basis. In some cases, village meeting can be called more than once a month, with this depending upon any urgency.



The dimension above is reinforced by the following comments:

We do have monthly meetings.//Once a month.//Once a month, on the 10th, depending on the members. If they aren't available, the meeting will be moved up or down.//The gatherings are usually in the community hearing pattern, held once a month, mostly.//We meet every month.//

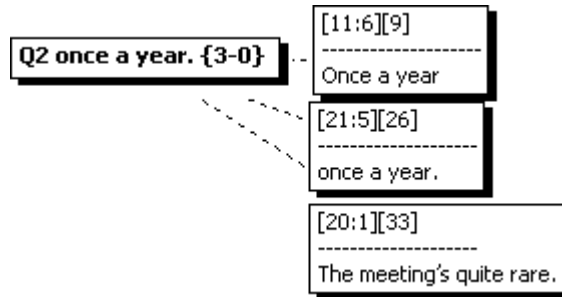
2) Only call a meeting when necessary. In some villages, a meeting is called when the headman considers that he has enough to tell everyone. So, there is no monthly schedule. Local leaders consider the villagers' convenience. Therefore meetings will be called only when the leaders think that it is appropriate and necessary.



These are excerpts responded to the above demonstration:

The village headman only calls a meeting when it is necessary to do so.//Only when there's an important issue to discuss with the villagers. //Whenever the projects come in.//We don't meet monthly; we only meet when we have, for example, an off-season offering of robes and other needs related to monks, as well as when there are other religious or traditional ceremonies and welcoming functions.//He doesn't set a monthly meeting; but, he rather calls meetings occasionally, like when there is a traditional event coming, and then he'll call for one.

3) Yearly a meeting Calling meetings also depends upon the administration. For example, in the municipality, the mayor will call the communities leaders together to disseminate policies, and those leaders will call a small group meeting again to relay the information that they received. The mayor may, at some time, call a yearly meeting with all of the villagers.

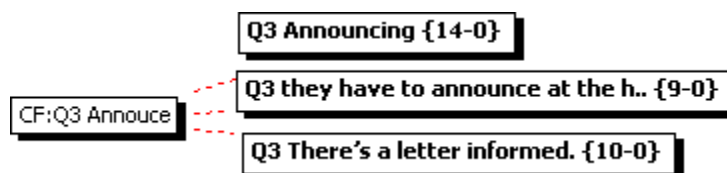


This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

Once a year.//The meeting's quite rare. //Once a year.

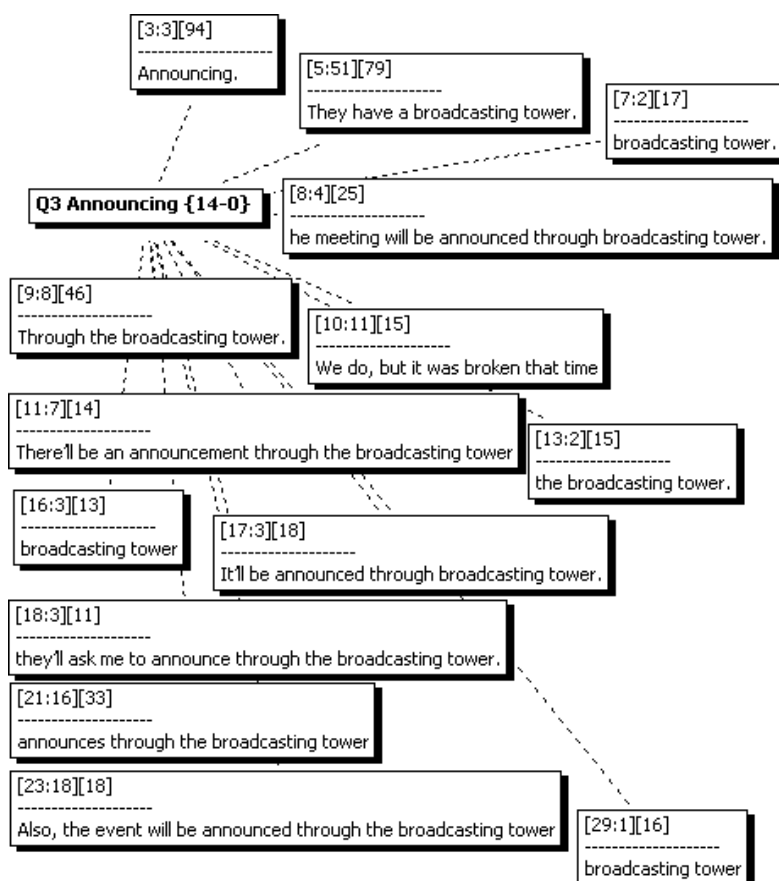
Question 3: What is pattern of communication applied? (formal or informal)

Q3: Announcing



A meeting informs villagers in three ways. **Announcing**, by way of the broadcasting tower, is common in each village. **Word of mouth, with one person telling another**, is also possible since the villagers normally know their neighbour and meet at religious places, like temple for Buddhists, or the mosque for Muslims. **Visitation** from officials can sometimes mean that a person will walk to each house to relay news. **Letters** are used in some communities and, most of the time, a letter is only sent to the community leaders.

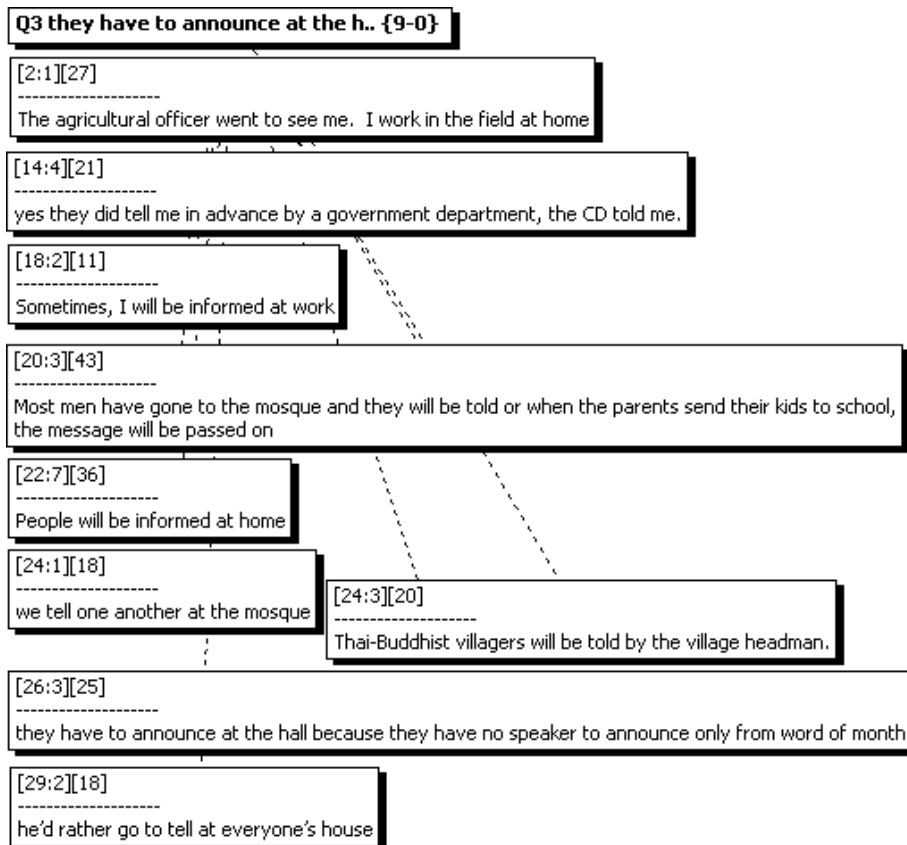
1) Announcing



This following is the excerpts correspond to the above shown maps:

They have a broadcasting tower.//The meeting will be announced through broadcasting tower.//There'll be an announcement through the broadcasting tower.// They'll ask me to announce through the broadcasting tower.//Also, the event will be announced through the broadcasting tower.//

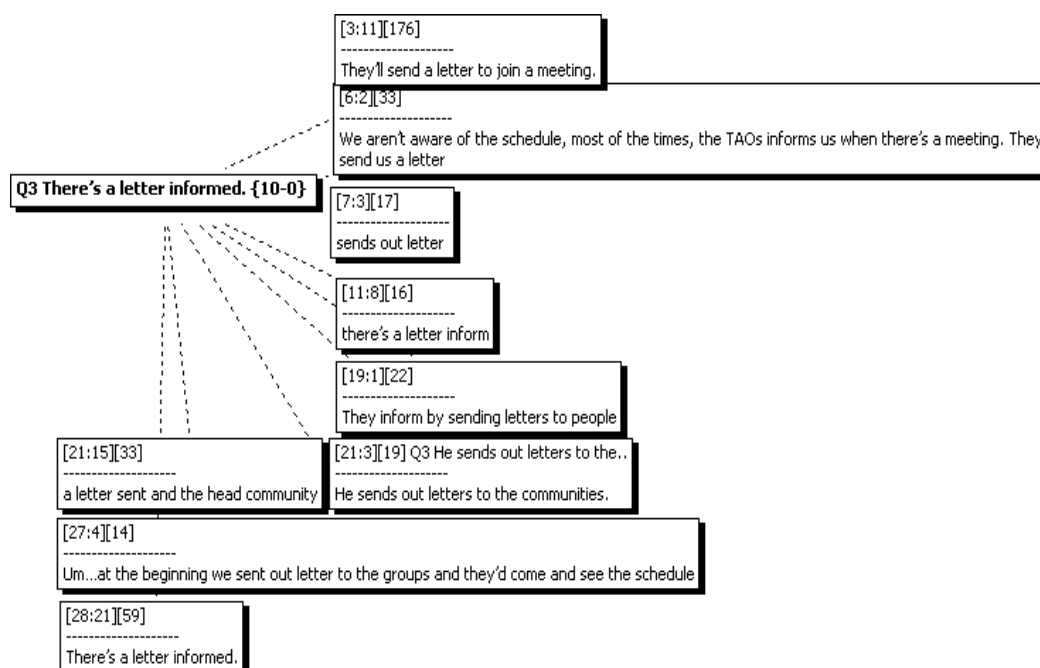
2) Meet in person



The following was said in support of the above mentioned dimension:

The agricultural officer came to see me. I work in the field at home.//Yes, they did tell me in advance, by way of a government department. The CD (community development officer) told me.//Sometimes, I will be informed at work.//We tell one another at the mosque.//He'd rather go to tell at everyone's house.

3) Inform by letter

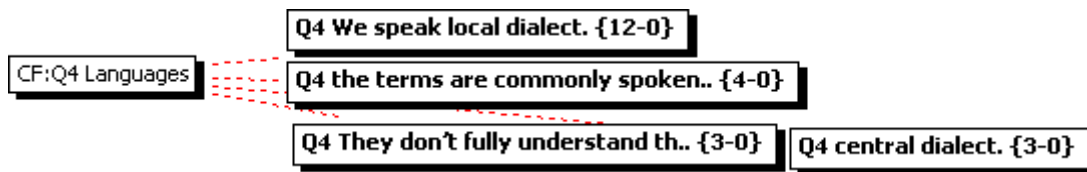


Below are excerpts to support the dimension presented above:

They'll send a letter for people to join a meeting.//We aren't aware of the schedule, most of the time, and the TAOs informs us when there is a meeting. They send us a letter.//They inform us by sending letters to people.//If the agenda is about the nursery, there'll be a letter sent to me, and an attachment about the agenda to pass on to the parents.//There's a letter informing people.

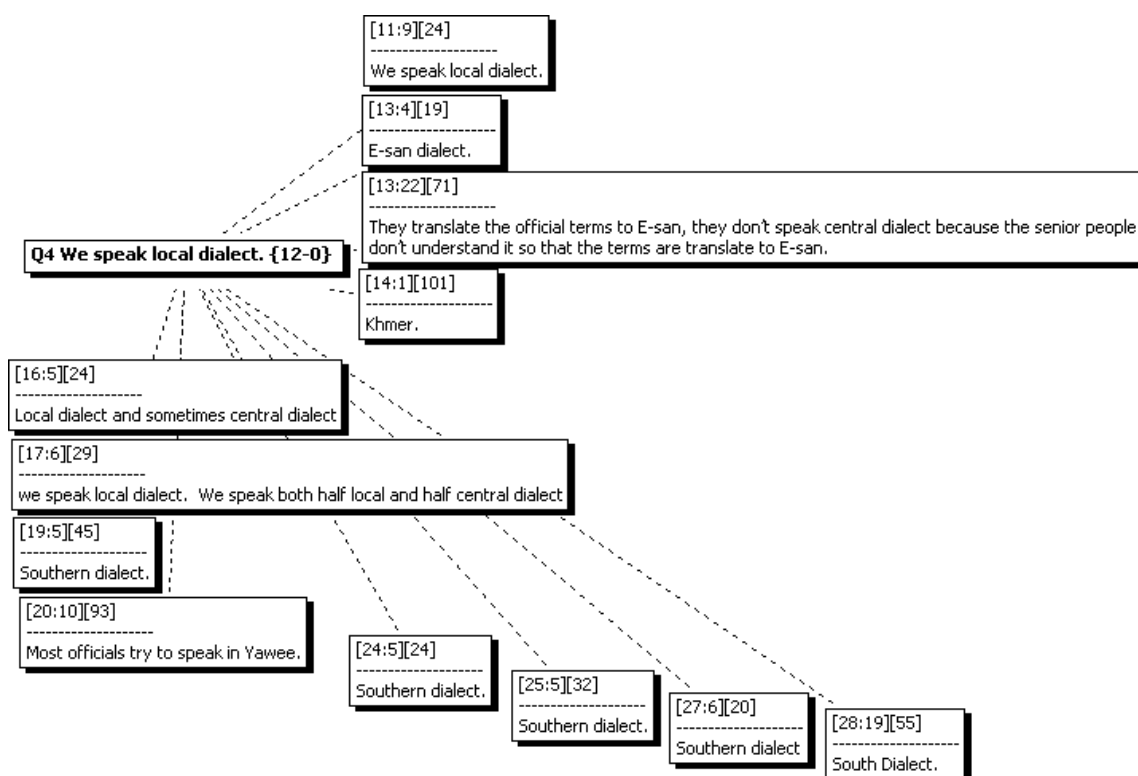
Question 4: What language (or dialect) is spoken in the meeting; whether the official language or terms are spoken?

Q4: LANGUAGE Local officials are capable of speaking local dialect. However, the central dialect is understood widely. There are four theme of answers found that villager:



- 1) The villagers communicate with the officials in local dialect,
- 2) Official terms are often spoken between officials and villagers,
- 3) Official terms are reported familiar. But, there are some villagers who don't understand, and
- 4) The central dialect is also spoken between villagers and official.

1) Local Dialect

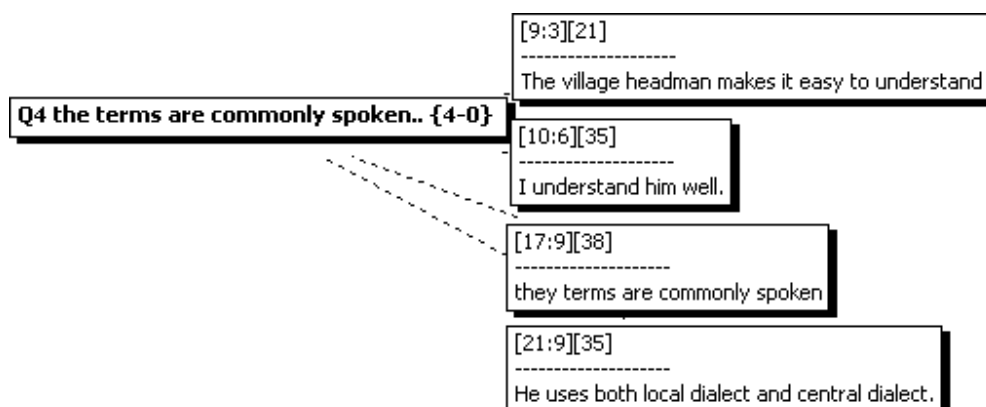


The following was said in support of the above dimension:

Southern dialect.//Speaking by using the official language.//E-san dialect.//

They are speaking with the use of official terms sometimes, and some people might not understand them.//The central dialect, sometimes, is spoken because other official units might join the meeting; the headman will be the translator.

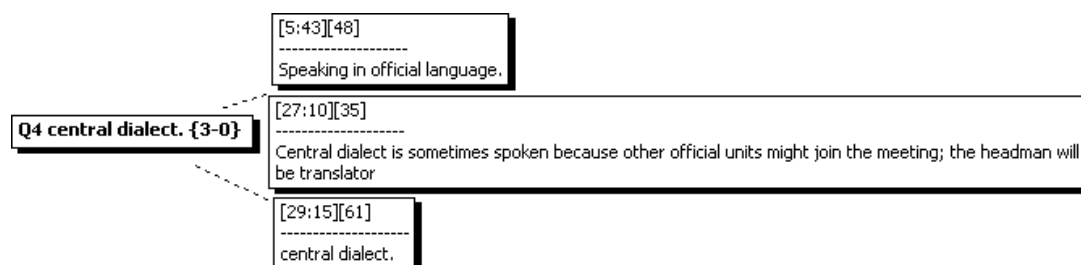
2) The official terms are commonly spoken.



The dimension above is reinforced by the following comments:

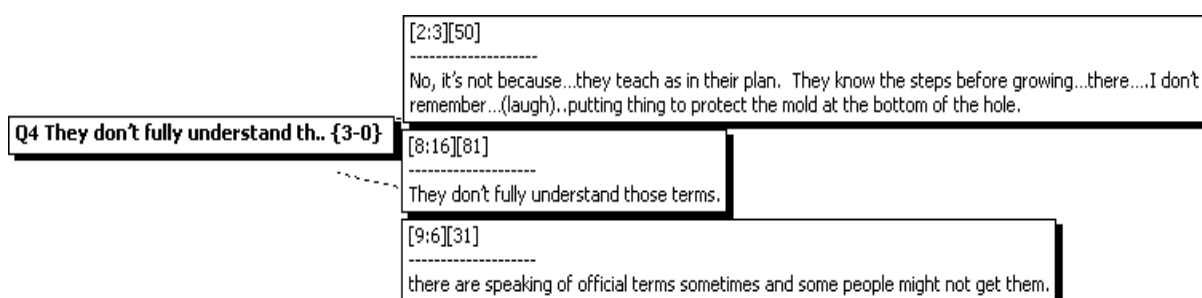
The village headman makes it easy to understand.//I understand him well.//
the terms are commonly spoken.//He uses both the local and the central dialect.

3) Central dialect



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

Speaking in official language.//Central dialect is sometimes spoken because other
official units might join the meeting; the headman will be translator.//...central
dialect. The villagers do not fully understand the message.

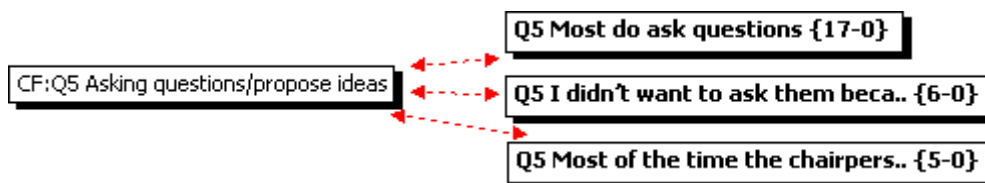


The above dimensions are supported by the following excerpts:

They don't fully understand those terms.//No, it is not because...they teach as in their
plan. They know the steps before growing...there....I don't
remember...(laugh)..putting something to protect the mould at the bottom of the
hole.//...there are speaking with official terms sometimes and some people might not
get them.

Question 5: How is the information rechecked or monitored for mutual understanding?

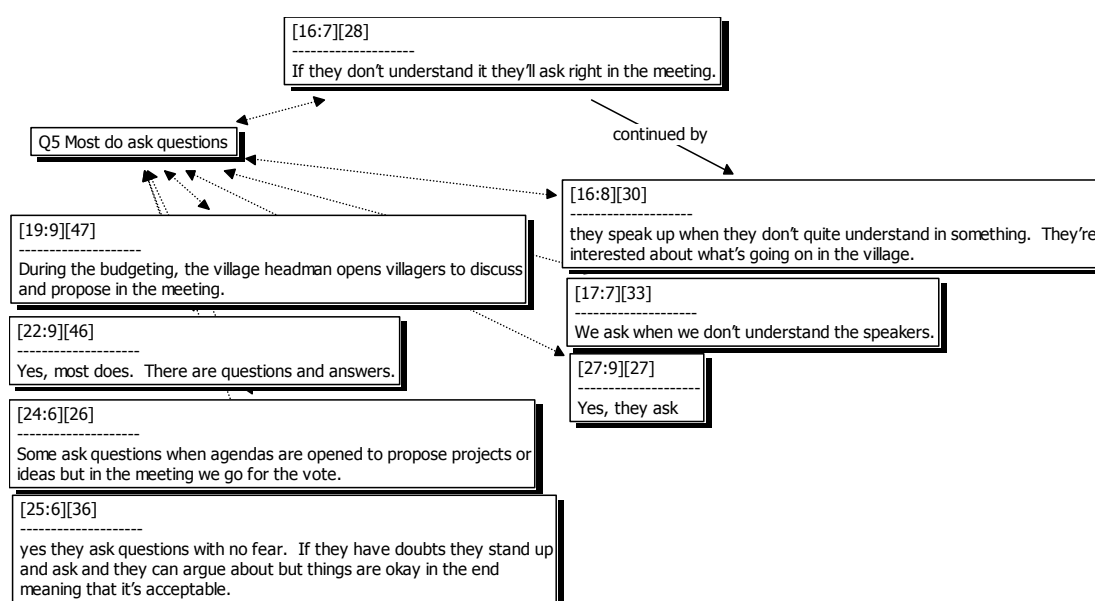
Q5: ASKING QUESTIONS/PROPOSE IDEAS

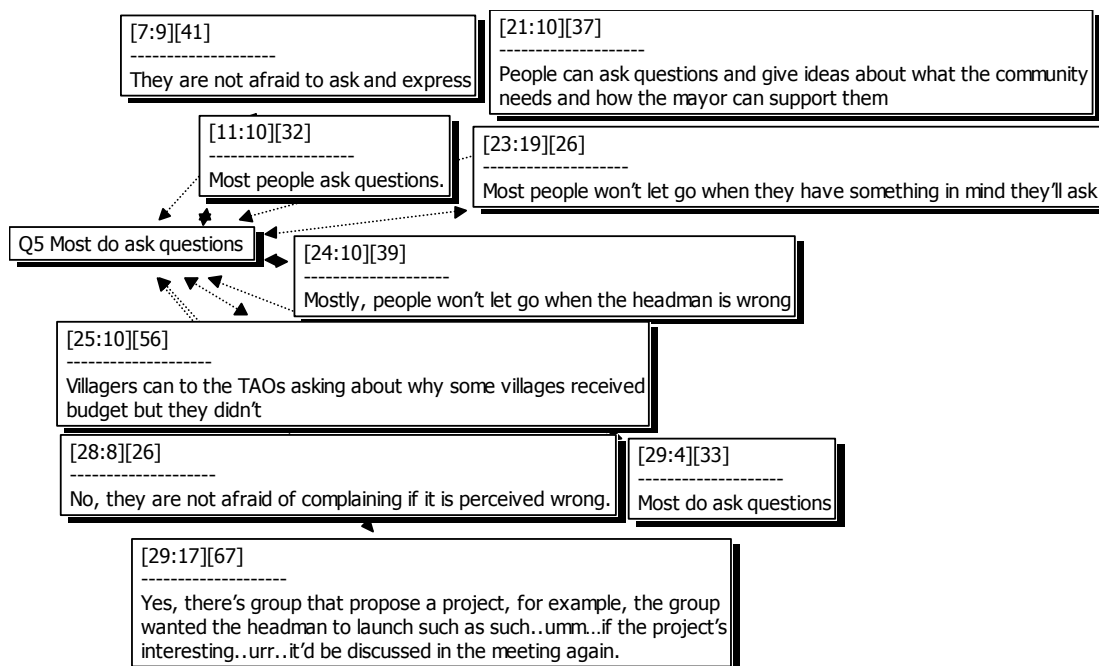


The villagers gave answers in 3 themes:

- 1) Most villagers ask questions in the meeting,
- 2) There are still some villagers do not ask questions at all, and
- 3) The meeting chairperson usually encourages the villagers to ask questions if they have any doubts.

Most do ask questions Increasingly, villagers are not afraid to ask questions or speak up in the meeting. There were many comments from the respondents, with this making the map large and complicated. Therefore, under this theme, the resultant map is broken into 2 maps.

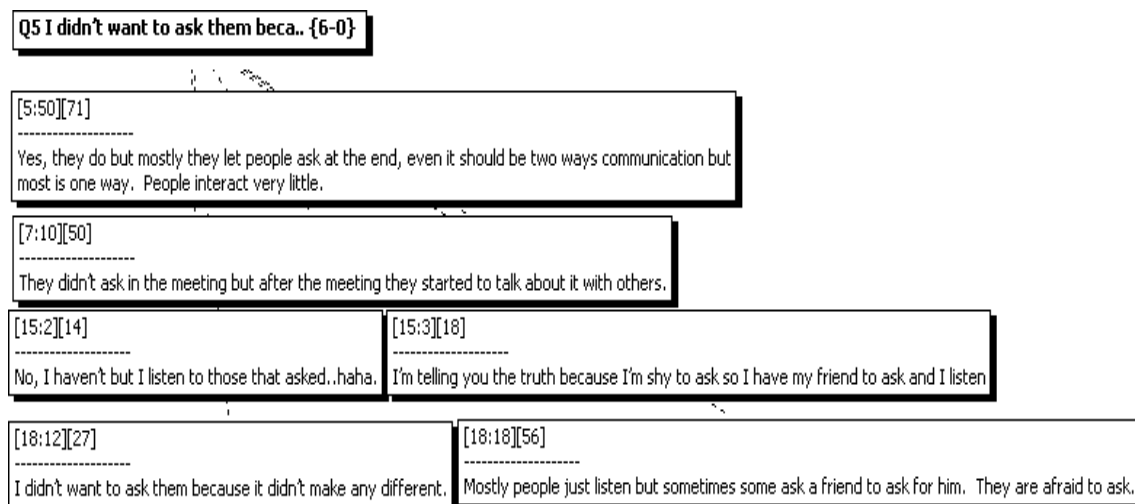




The following was said in support of the above mentioned dimension:

Most people ask questions.//They speak up when they don't quite understand something. They're interested about what's going on in the village.//People can ask questions and give ideas about what the community needs and how the mayor can support them. //Yes, most do. There are questions and answers. //Mostly, people won't let go when the headman is wrong.//Yes, they ask questions with no fear. If they have doubts, they stand up and ask, and they can argue about it. But, things are okay in the end, meaning that it is acceptable.

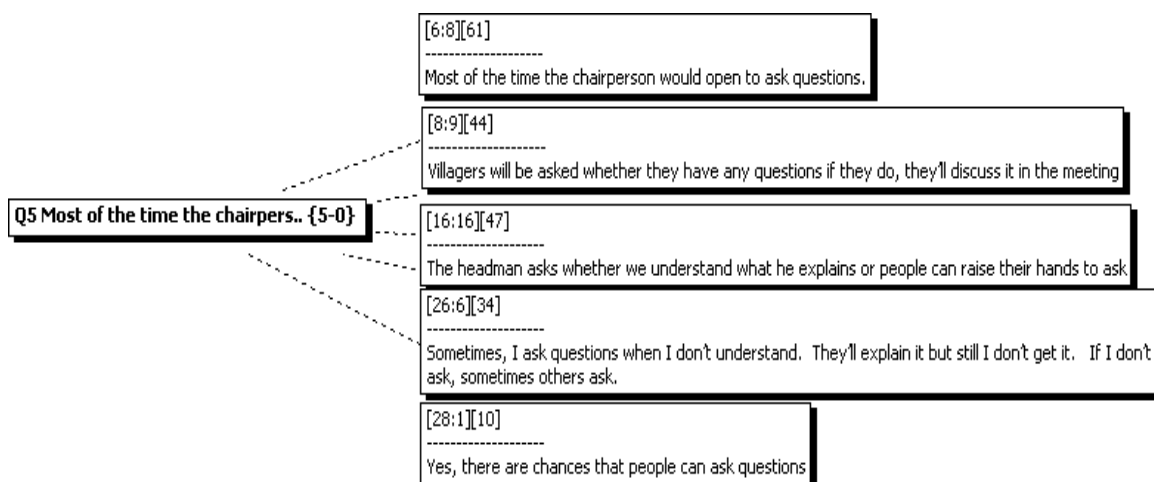
- 1) Don't ask questions** Villagers reveal several reasons for not asking questions in a meeting.



The dimension presented above is reinforced by the following comments:

Yes, they do. But, mostly, they let people ask at the end. Even though there should be two-way communication, it is one way most often. People interact very little.//I'm telling you the truth because I'm shy to ask. So, I have my friend ask and I listen.//I didn't want to ask them because it didn't make any difference.//Mostly, people just listen. But, sometimes, they ask a friend to ask for them. They are afraid to ask.

2) Chances to ask questions The meeting chairperson usually welcomes villagers to ask questions or give opinions.

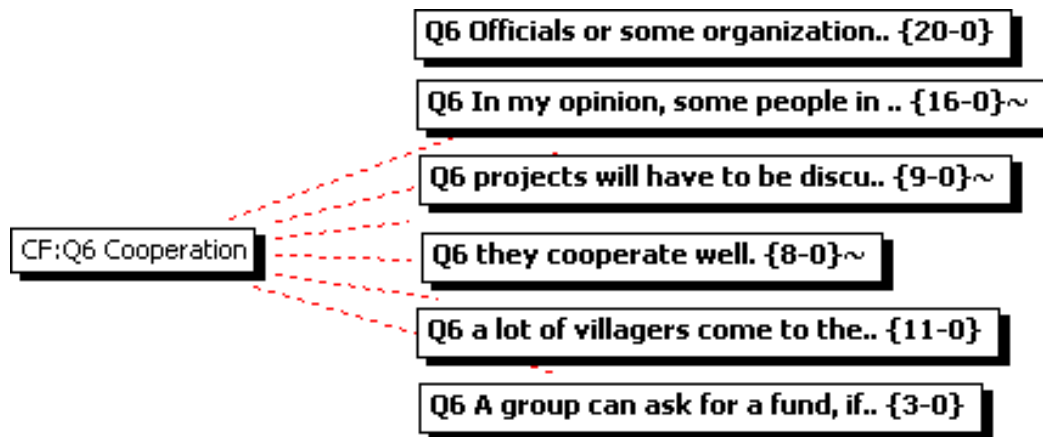


The following excerpts support the above mentioned dimension:

Most of the time, the chairperson would give the opportunity to ask questions.//
Villagers will be asked whether they have any questions. If they do, they'll discuss it in the meeting.//Sometimes, I ask questions when I don't understand. They'll explain it; but, I still I don't get it. If I don't ask, sometimes others ask.//Yes, there are chances when people can ask questions.

Question 6: How good is the co-operation between the officials and villagers?

Q6: Cooperation Cooperation can come in many forms. It could be through people joining meetings, or joining in community activities, or even through receiving funds and other types of support from officials. Six categories of cooperation are reported.

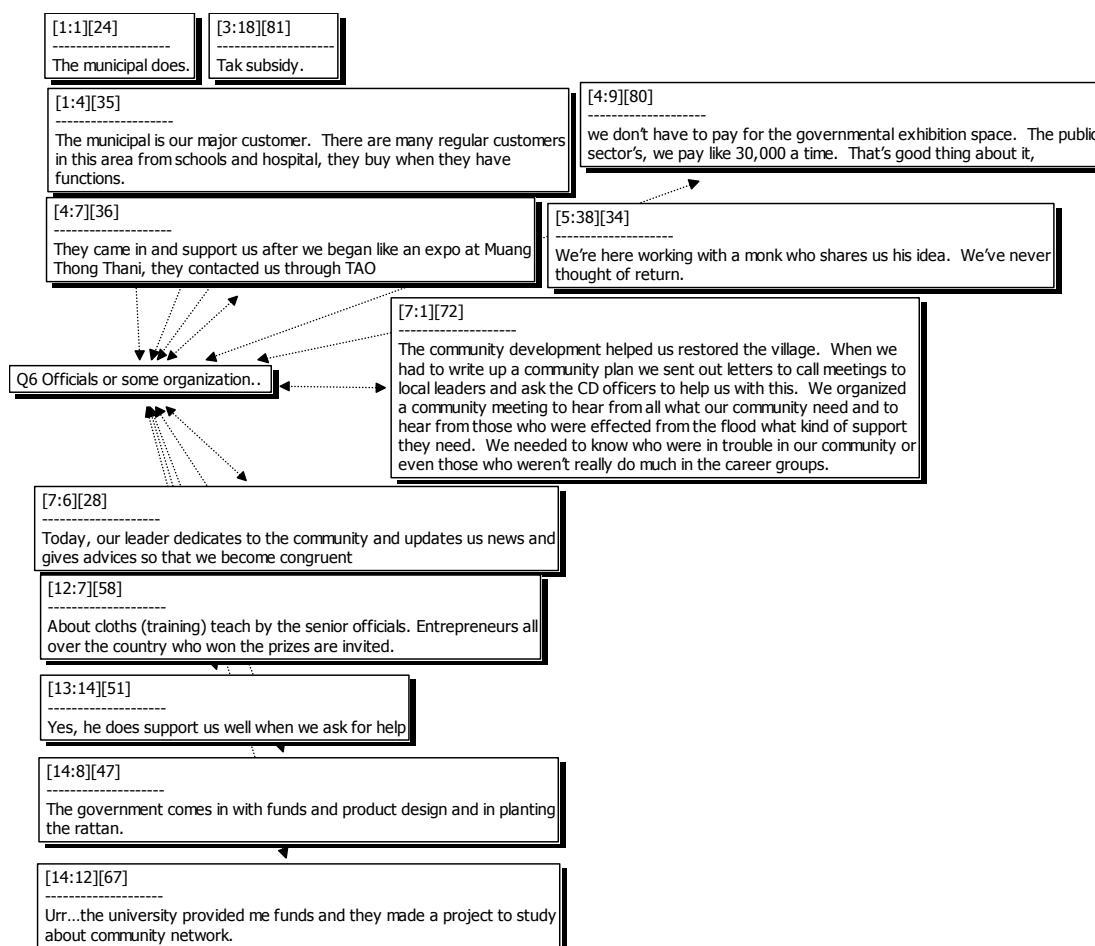


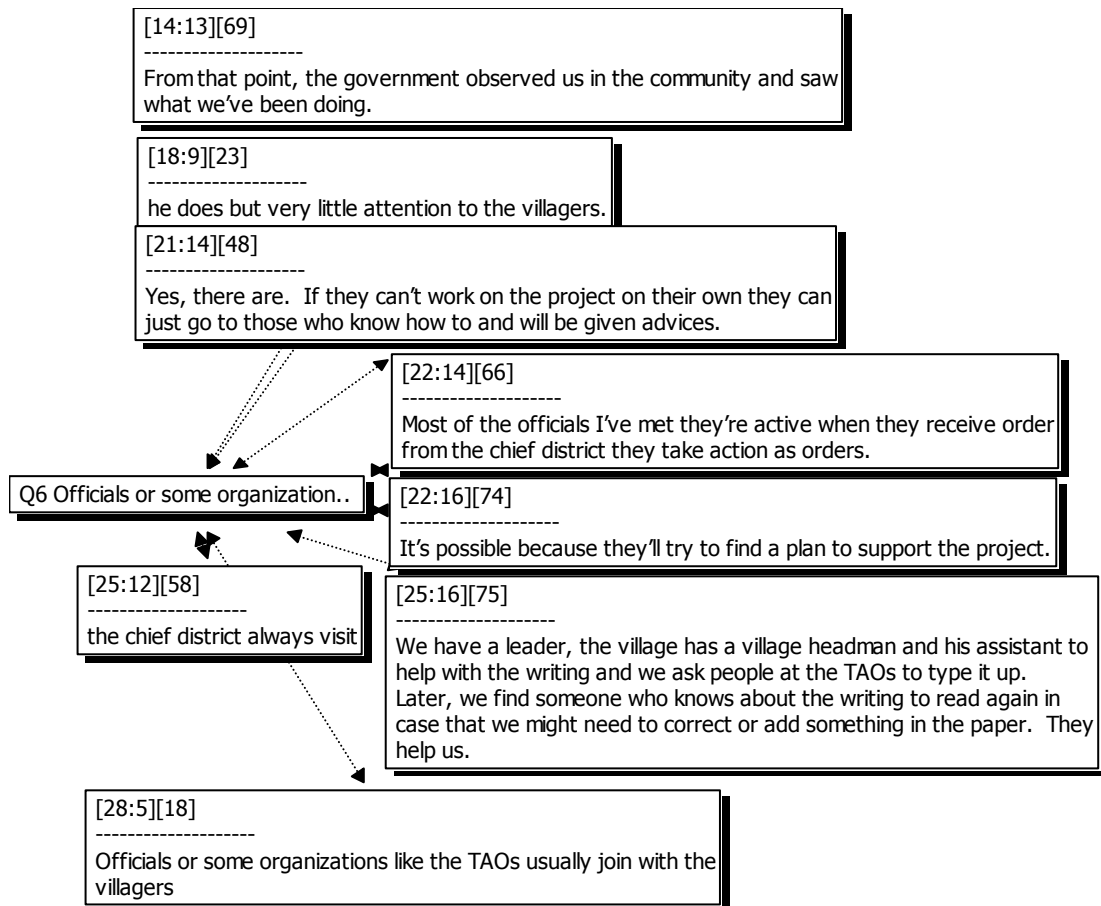
- 1) Official or some organisational support for villagers through assistance or funds,
- 2) Cooperation with the community depends upon each person,
- 3) Villagers discuss the projects to seek a collective decision,
- 4) Most villagers cooperate well with the community,
- 5) A lot of villagers come to the meeting, and
- 6) Villagers can form groups to ask for fund to support their projects.

In relation to joining meetings, there are people who join and others who don't join a meeting. But, they have different reasons for doing so. What is interesting is that the level of cooperation of the villagers, and that of their leaders, are related. People tend to go to meetings if their leaders are perceived as caring enough about their people, and they perform well as a leader.

Another important expectation of leaders is that villagers usually consult with their leaders to seek help in solving problems. However, the villagers report that they try to solve their problems by themselves before taking steps in looking for help from officials. The first official they go to is either the village headman or the TAOs.

1) Officials or some organisation support Besides fund allocation, as far as the villagers can recall, there are also other forms of support for the villagers. The support could be in the form of arranging an exhibition of local products, giving advice in preparing the community plan, or visiting them. Under this category, there are 2 maps to illustrate the idea.





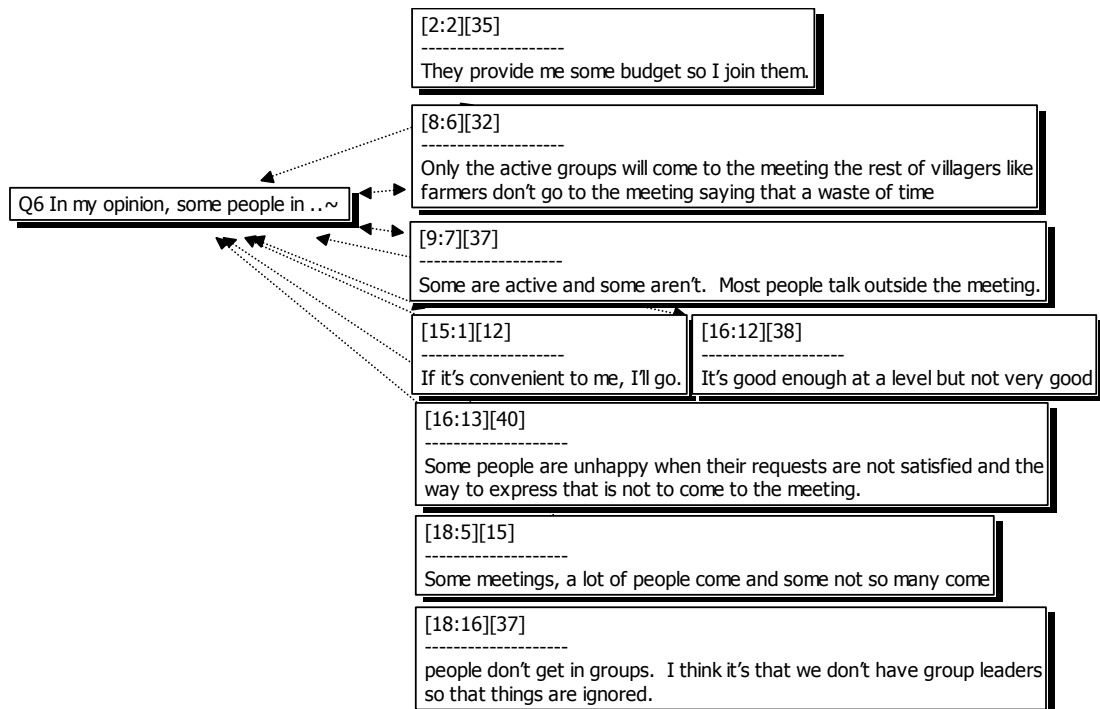
This theme is clearly demonstrated via the following:

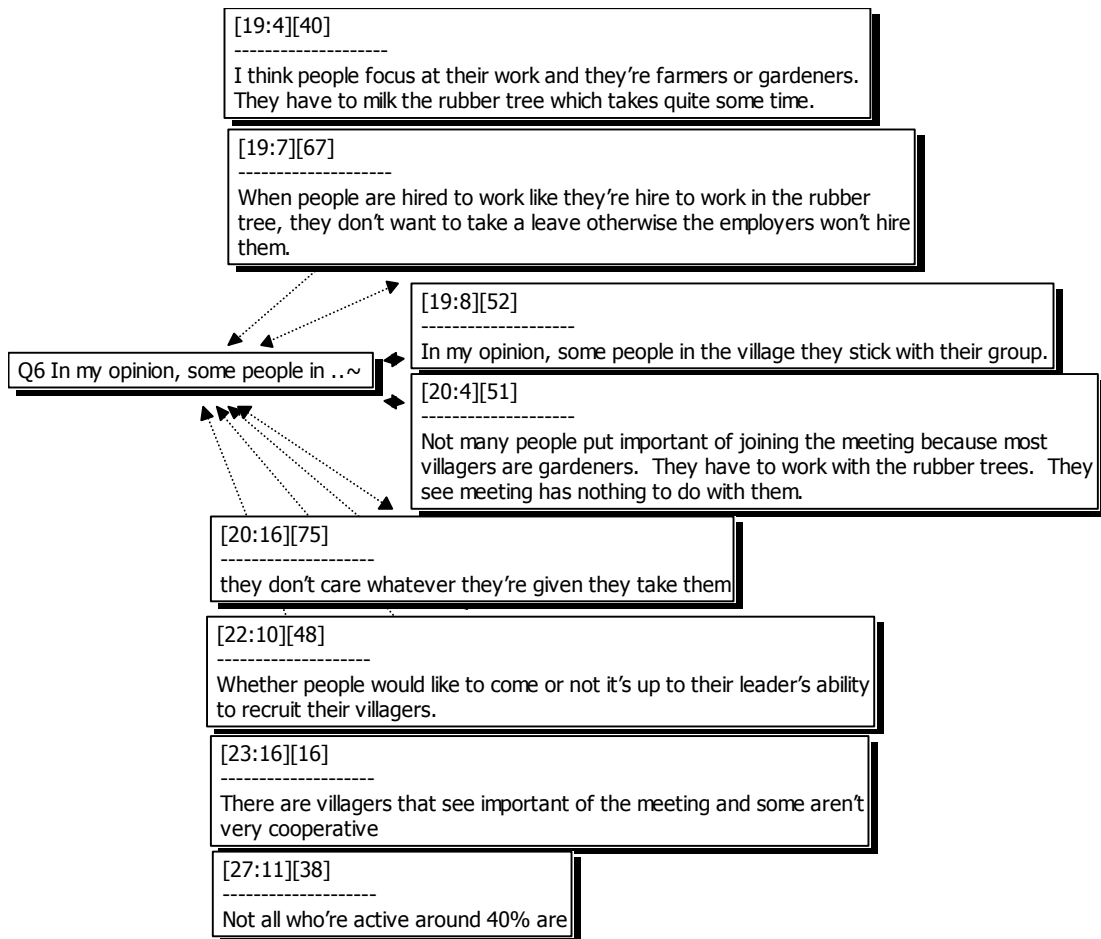
The municipality is our major customer. There are many regular customers in this area, such as schools and hospital, and they buy when they have functions.//

They came in and support us after we took part in the expo at Muang Thong Thani, and they contacted us through the TAO.//Community development helped us to restored the village. When we had to write up a community plan, we sent out letters to call local leaders to meetings and we asked the CD officers to help us with this. We organised a community meeting so as to hear about all of what our community needs, and also to hear from those who were affected from the flood as to what kind of support they need. We had to know who were in trouble in our community, or even know about those who weren't really doing much in the career groups.//The government comes in with funds and product design, and in planting rattan.//Most of the officials I've met are only active when they receive an order from the chief of the district.//The district chief always visits.//We have a leader, the village has a village headman, and his assistant helps with the writing, and we ask people at the TAOs to

type it up. Later, we find someone who knows about writing to read it again in case we might need to correct it, or add something. They help us.

- 2) **Some people are active and some are not** There are people who are interested in the community, and those who leave decision making to the local leaders. This category is explained with 2 maps shown below:

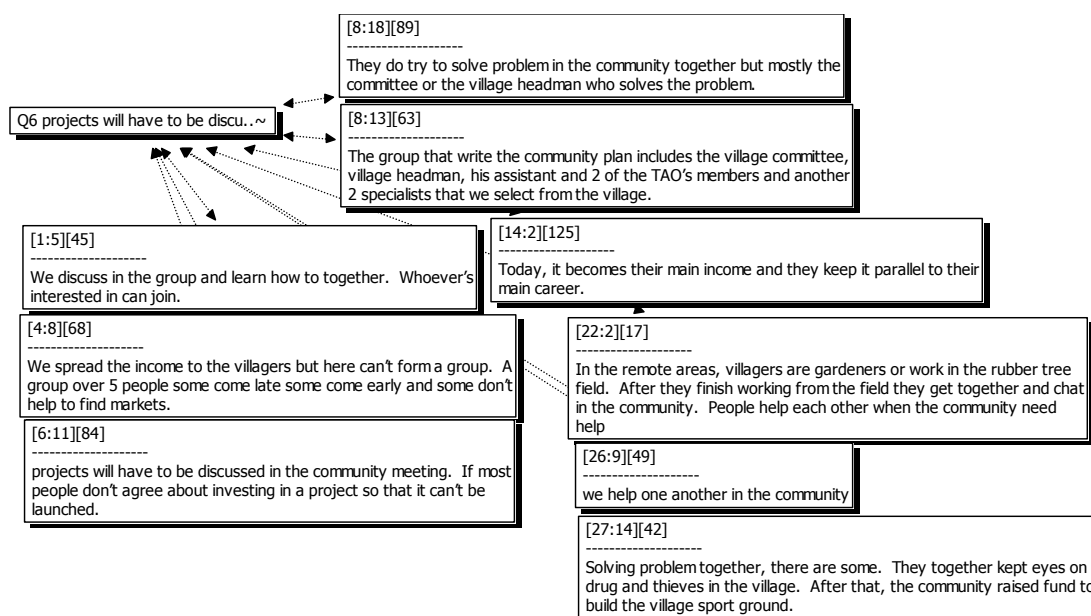




The above mentioned dimension is supported by the following comments:

Only the active groups will come to the meeting and the rest of villagers, like farmers, don't go to the meeting saying that it is a waste of time.//If it's convenient to me, I'll go.//Some people are unhappy when their requests are not satisfied and the way to express that is not to come to the meeting. //Not many people put importance of joining the meeting because most villagers are farmers. They have to work with the rubber trees. They see a meeting has nothing to do with them.//Whether people would like to come, or not, it's up to their leader's ability to recruit the villagers.

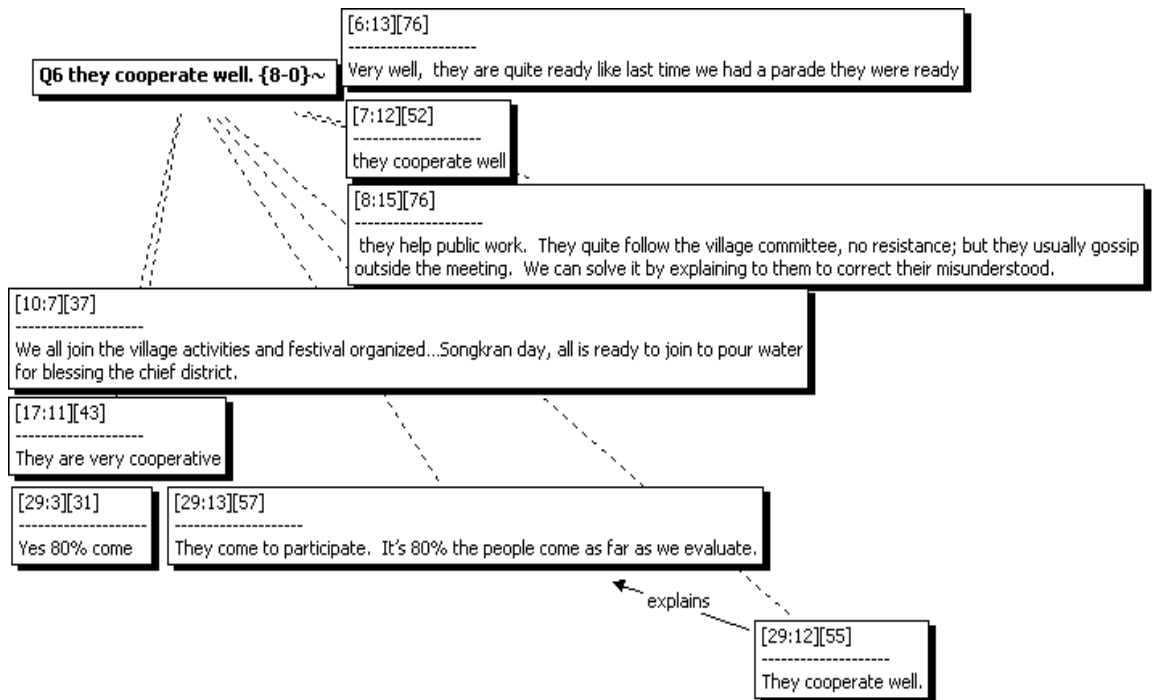
3) Villagers discuss and help each other Villagers seem to help themselves before looking for help otherwise. They help one another as much as possible. Beyond that, they consult with local leaders.



These are excerpts supporting the above mentioned dimension:

We discuss things in the group and learn how to do something together. Whoever is interested in that can join in.//We spread the income to the villagers; but, they can't form a group. .. some come late, some come early and some don't help to find markets.//Projects must be discussed in the community meeting. If most people don't agree about investing in a project, then it can't be launched.//They solve problems together and there are some. Together, they kept an eye on drugs and thieves in the village. After that, the community raised funds to build the village sports ground.

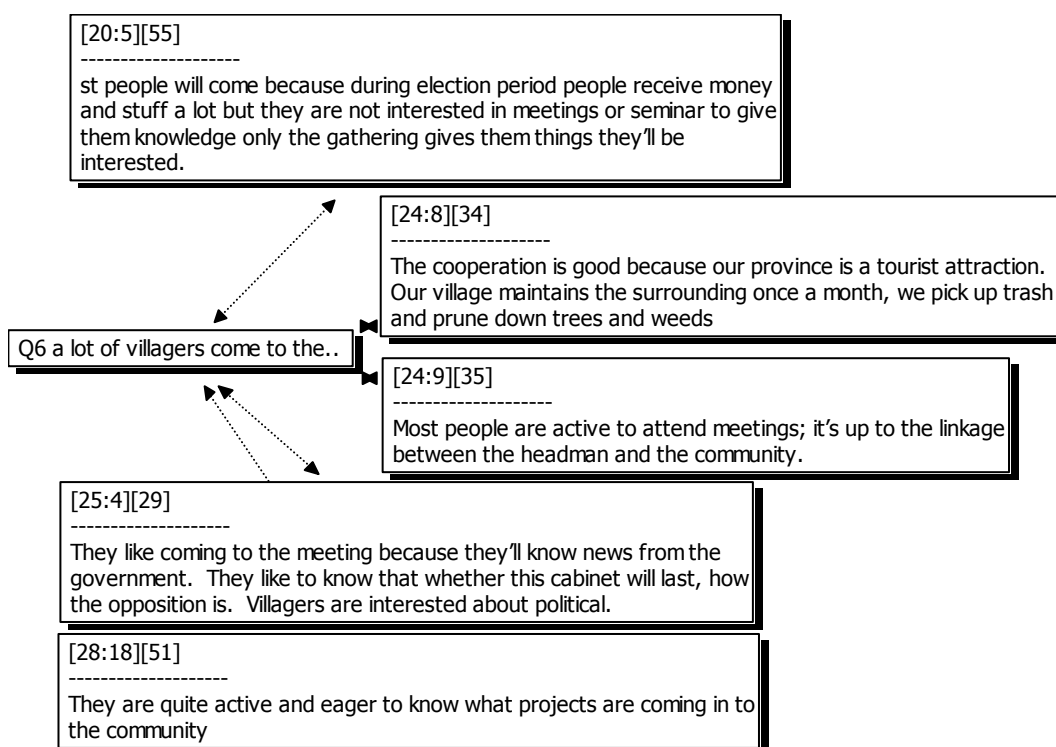
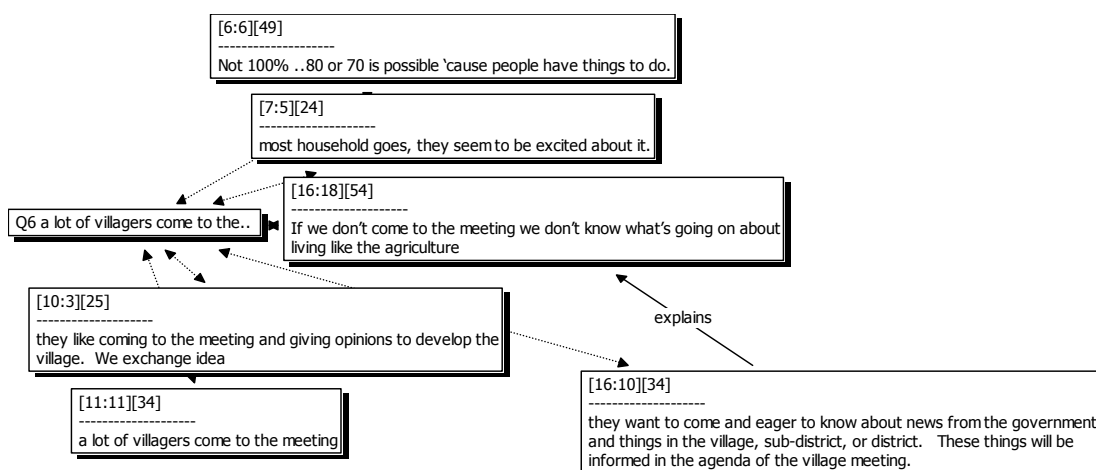
- 4) **Villagers cooperate well** Most community activities attract the attention of villagers and encourage them to join in and cooperate in organising the activities.



The following excerpts support the dimension presented above:

Very well, they are quite ready. Like, last time, we had a parade, and they were ready.//We all join in village activities and organizing festivities ...For Songkran, all were ready to join in to pour water for the blessing of the district chief.//They are very cooperative.//They cooperate well.

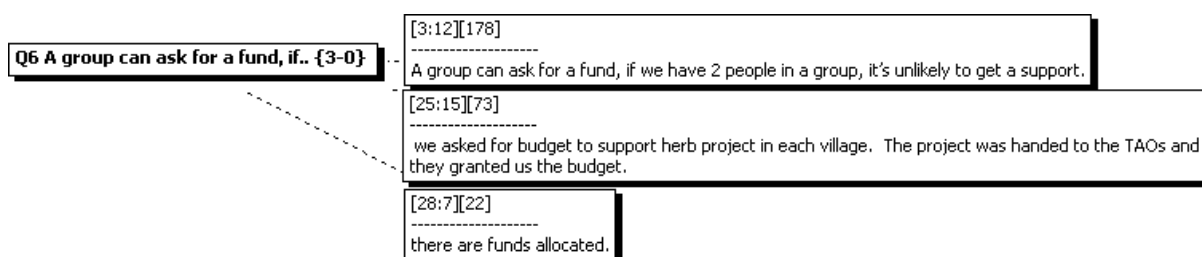
- 5) **A lot of villagers come to the meeting** According to villagers, cooperation is quite high in the community. Most villagers attend village meeting and join in local activities. This category uses 2 maps to explain this theme as appear below:



The above mentioned dimensions are supported by the following excerpts:

Not 100% ..80 or 70 is possible because people have things to do.//Most households go, and they seem to be excited about it.// They like coming to the meeting and giving opinions to develop the village. We exchange ideas.// Most people are active and attend meetings; it's all up to the link between the headman and the community.//They like coming to the meeting because they'll gain news from the government. They like to know whether this cabinet of government ministers will last, and how the opposition is. Villagers are interested in politics.

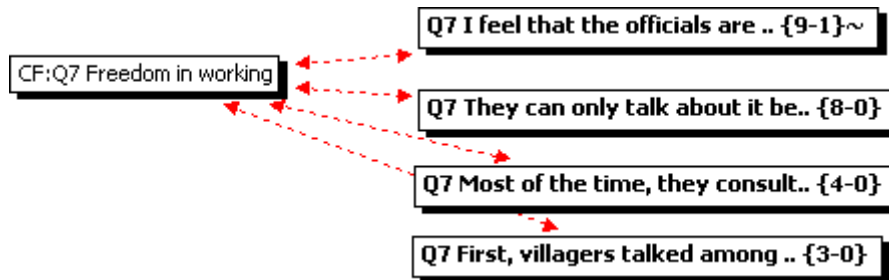
- 6) Fund allocation** The allocation of funds from officials is a way to support the villagers.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

We asked for funds to support a herb project in each village. The project was handed to the TAOs and they granted us the budget allocation.//There are funds allocated.

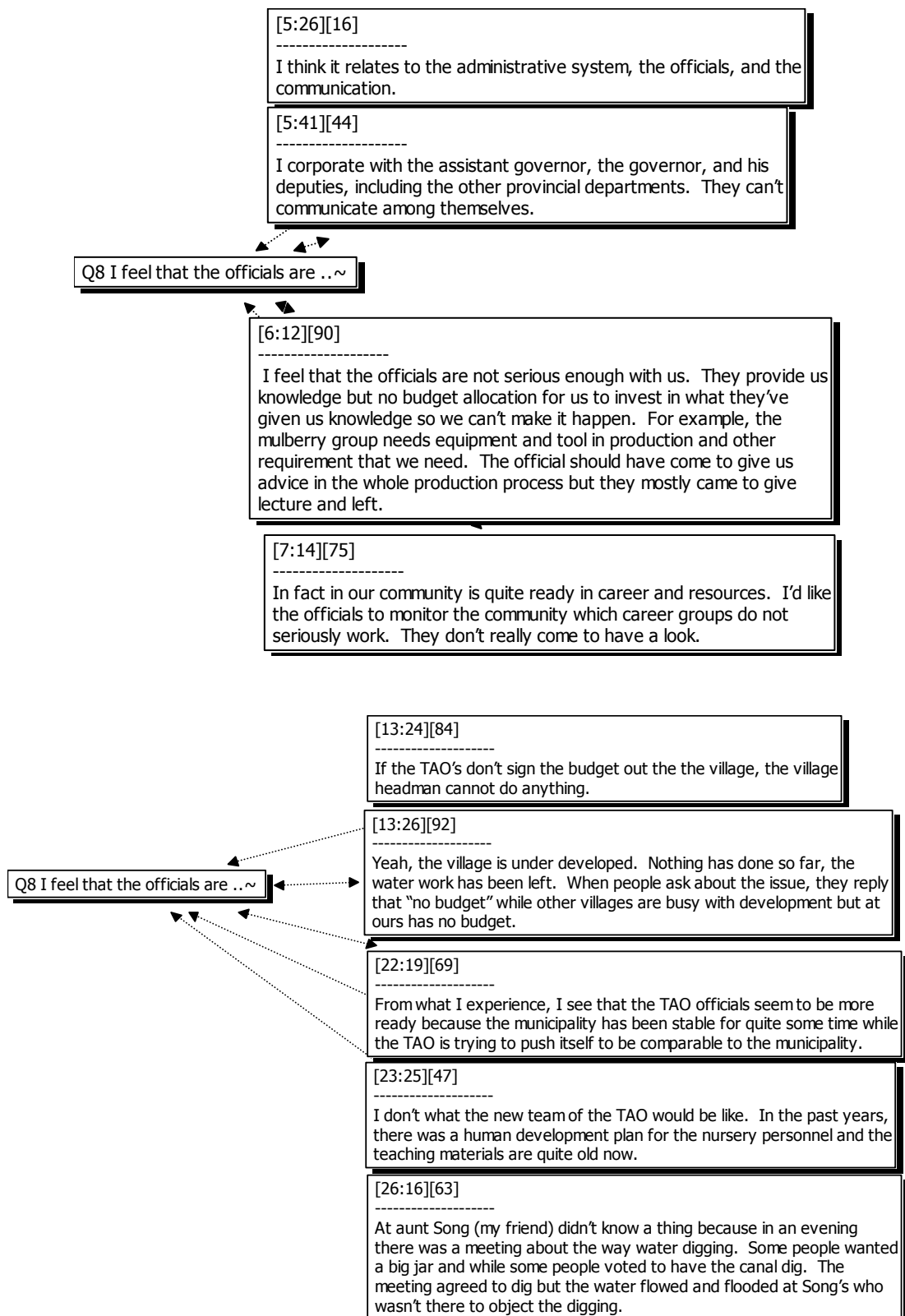
Question 7: Do the villagers have opportunities to work or perform some activities autonomously?



Q7: Autonomy People can be autonomous in doing work or in initiating a project. Surprisingly, the villagers report that they seem to work on their own first, and then only seek help when they are bounded with problems. That is when they go to their village headman or the TAOs. Four themes of answers are reported:

- 1) The villagers notice that the official neglect their responsibility,
- 2) The villagers report that they can only complaint about their problem between them; nothing seems to be fixed.
- 3) If the villagers need to ask for help or support, they consult with the headman or the Tambon representatives, and
- 4) Villagers usually discuss their problems and try to sort them out among themselves.

- 1) The villagers notice the official neglect their responsibility. Two dimensions below provide an overview of this theme.



The following was said in support of the above mentioned dimension:

I feel that the officials are not serious enough with us. They provide us knowledge but no budget allocation for us to invest in. What they've given us is knowledge so we can't make it happen. For example, the mulberry group needs equipment and tools for production and we have other requirements.. The official should have come to give us advice about the whole production process but they mostly came to give a lecture and leave.//In fact, our community is quite ready in terms of career and resources. I'd like the officials to monitor the community which has career groups that do not work seriously. They don't really come to have a look. //Yeah, the village is under developed. Nothing has done so far, the water work has been left. When people ask about the issue, they reply that //no budget// while other villages are busy with development but at ours has no budget.

- 2) The villagers report that the can only complaint about their problem between them; nothing seems to be fixed.

Q7 They can only talk about it be.. {8-0}

[5:53][24]

It'd be good if the official assigned must be free of pressure and the villagers themselves....well....must be an effect of his performance

[8:19][97]

In politic, it's about particularism; who are our people and who are not. Election canvassers are sent to buy votes, this kind of things

[10:8][45]

They don't send petition, no hard way. They're like brotherhood, mostly discuss if we have matters. If the headman spots someone to be a trouble maker, he'll call in the person and talk

[12:1][30]

They did it wrong, I can weave, and spin (laugh)...they did the weave, spin, comb and they waste some in the process...at last they had just one left

[23:13][41]

Umm...people use to question officials' performance, the issue was about revealed but the villagers were afraid to dig deeper

[23:23][54]

I think it's because that villagers have no time to pay attention to this problem and if the problem has no direct affect to them, they won't trouble to concern it

[27:15][46]

They can only talk about it between them.

[29:20][90]

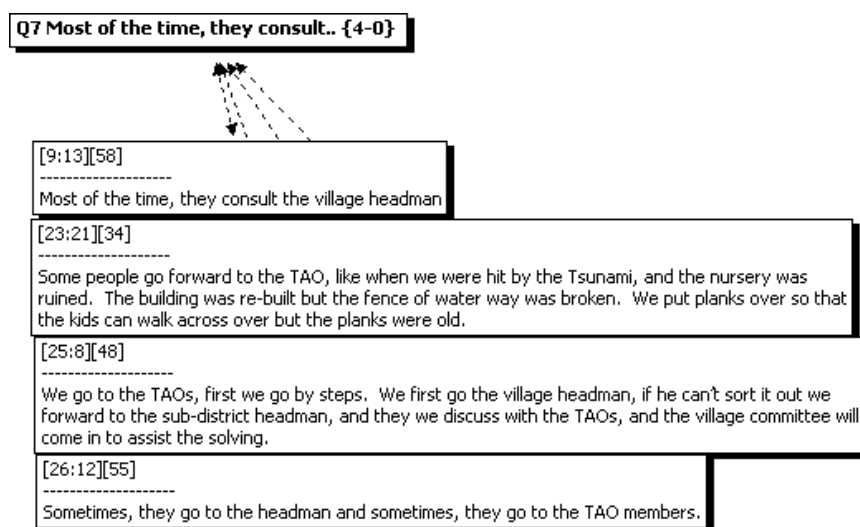
Villagers don't have this monitor role of the officials' performance

These are the excerpts supporting to the abovementioned theme:

In politics, it's about particularism; who are our people and who are not. Election canvassers are sent to buy votes, that kind of thing.//They don't send petitions, no hard way. They're like brotherhood; mostly, they discuss if we have matters. If the

headman spots someone to be a trouble maker, he'll call in the person and talk//Umm...people would question officials' performance, the issue was about to be revealed but the villagers were afraid to dig deeper. //Villagers don't have this monitoring role in relation to the officials' performance.

- 3) If the villagers need to ask for help or support, they consult with the headman or the Tambon representatives.



This is clearly demonstrated via the following:

Most of the time, they consult the village headman.//Most of the time, people try to solve problem themselves if they can't solve them, they'll go to the administration, like the Chief TAO.//Some people go to the TAO, like when we were hit by the tsunami, and the nursery was ruined. The building was re-built; but, the fence along the waterway was broken. We put planks over them so that the kids can walk across. But, the planks were old.

- 4) Villagers usually discuss their problems and try to sort them out among themselves.

Q7 First, villagers talked among .. {3-0}

[22:17][76]

Most of the time people try to solve problem themselves if they can't solve them, they'll go to the administrative, the Chief TAO.

[23:11][32]

First, villagers talked among themselves and the teachers, some raised that what about we talk to the TAO

[28:15][41]

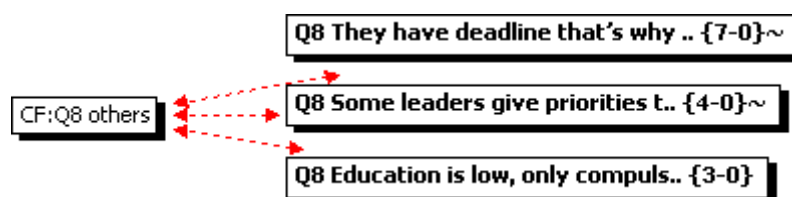
We help one another first and go to the village headman.

Below are the excerpts to support the dimension presented:

Most of the time people try to solve problem themselves if they can't solve them, they'll go to the administrative, the Chief TAO.//First, villagers talked among themselves and the teachers, some raised that what about we talk to the TAO.//We help one another first and go to the village headman.

Question 8: What are those worries or concerns your working environment or society?

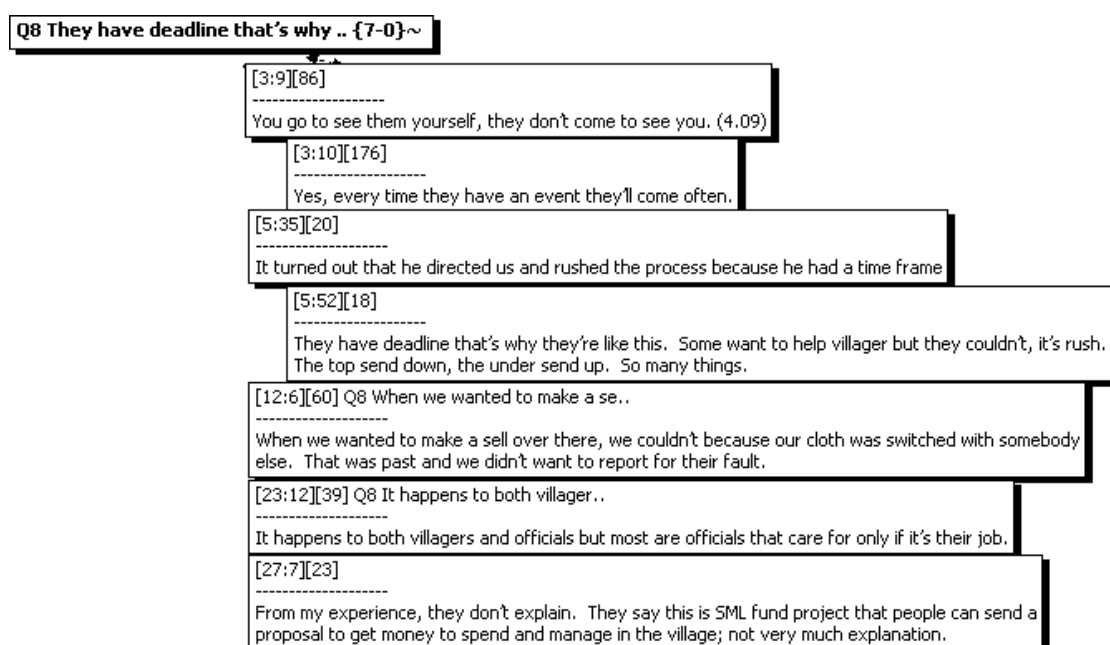
Q8: Worries or Concerns (from the villagers)



Villagers' worries and concerns are in 3groups:

- 1) The officials set deadlines when working with the villagers,
- 2) Some leaders keep advantages for their families and friends, and
- 3) Villagers, and some local leaders, have low levels of education that affects their confidence, such as in terms of giving an opinion.

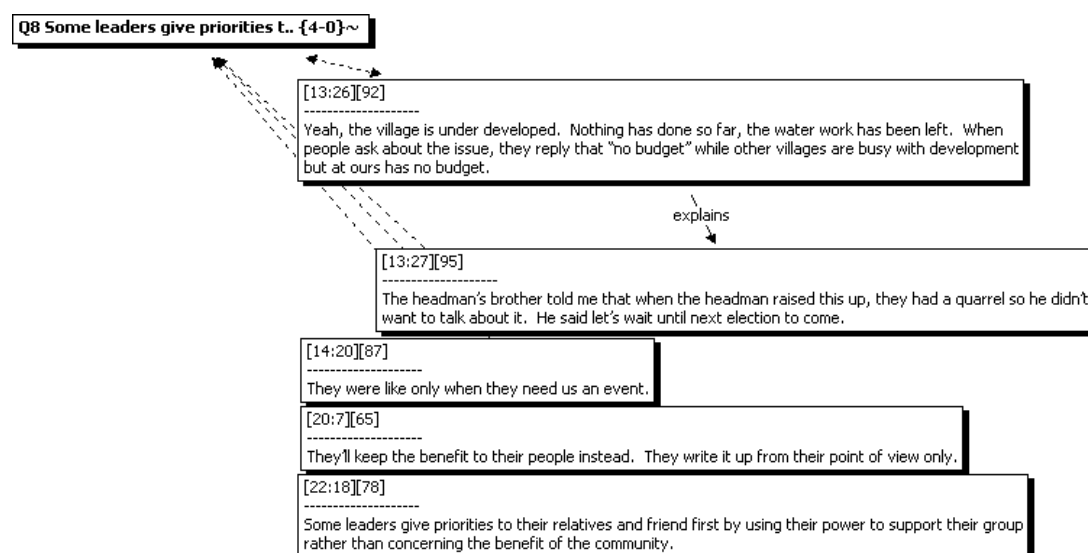
- 1) Any **deadline set by officials** is a burden for the villagers when it comes for them to think, to discuss among them, and to ask questions. Explanation is limited.



These excerpts are to support of the above-mentioned theme:

Yes, every time there is an event they'll come often.//It turned out that he directed us and rushed the process because he had a time constraint.//It happens to both villagers and officials. But, most are officials who care only if it's their job.//From my experience, they don't explain. They say this is an SML fund project that people can send a proposal to get money to spend and manage in the village; there is not very much explanation.

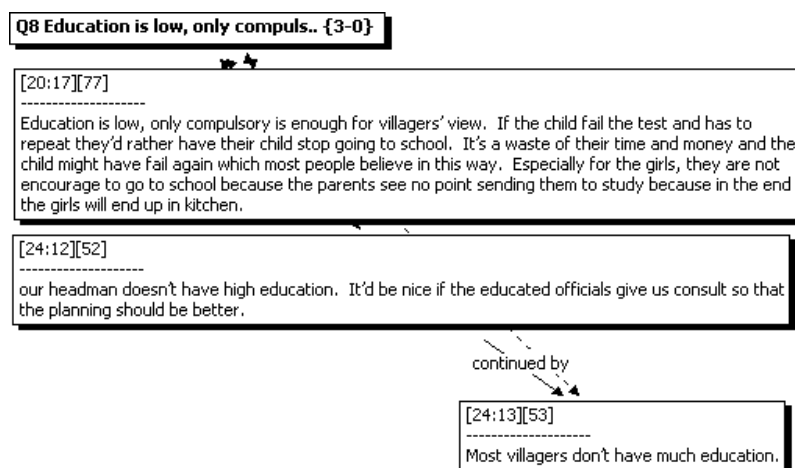
- 2) Leaders give priorities to their groups.** Villagers, and some local leaders, have low levels of education that affects their confidence, such as in terms of giving an opinion.



The dimension above is supported by the following excerpt:

They were like only when they need us an event.//They'll keep the benefit to their people instead. They write it up from their point of view only.//Some leaders give priorities to their relatives and friend first by using their power to support their group rather than concerning the benefit of the community.

- 3) **Education is a concern** for both the villagers and the local leaders. Villagers realize that education is important to them, and especially to their local leaders who lead them and are their representatives.



The excerpts below are in support of the dimension presented above:

The level of education is low, and only the compulsory amount of schooling is enough for villagers. If a child fails the test, and must repeat, they'd rather have their child stop going to school. It's a waste of their time and money, and the child might have fail again, which most people believe in the way of it. Especially for girls, they are not encouraged to go to school because the parents see no point in sending them to study because, in the end, the girls will end up in kitchen. //Our headman doesn't have a high level of education. It'd be nice if educated officials give us consultation so that the planning could be better.//Most villagers don't have much education.

5.4 Part 3 Recordings of conversations between officials and villagers and between villagers themselves using discourse analysis (pattern analysis)

The research question was to investigate the communication practices of Thai government officials and villagers. The fourth research objective was to compare discourse practices of Thai villagers and officials. To achieve this objective unprompted conversation were recorded and analysed using the conventional practices of discourse analysis to reveal natural patterns of conversation. The findings contributed towards our understanding of how both groups converse in order to explain differences or similarities.

During the initial fieldwork it became apparent that recordings fell into three categories for the purpose of analysis. These were monologue, dialogue, and social interaction.

- Monologue was a conversation in which one person seemed to dominate the conversation while other(s) were not included or encouraged in taking part in the conversation.
- Dialogue happened when two persons conversed and took turns speaking.
- Social interaction was when two or more persons conversed interchangeably.

Before leading to the next section that explains in detail about discourse of villagers and officials, the next section presents patterns of dialogue.

What was found

Monologue was found in the authorities meeting between officials and between officials and villagers. In other words, this one way form of communication was evident even at the end of the meeting or agenda when attendees were invited and allowed to ask questions or give opinions. This offer was rarely taken up. Common understanding would be that a meeting is where people converse, discuss, and collectively make decisions on particular issues. Instead, talking in background among them is common, unsurprisingly. However, because it was stated up front or

on the agenda that the meeting was to keep attendees informed or updated the researcher inferred that this resulted in people not interacting but just listening instead.

The dialogue between officials themselves and between villagers themselves was similar. It was found that officials seem to wait for one's turn before taking their turn while villagers on the other hand might add or speak up while another person was still talking. It was also noticed that familiarization and status differences between individuals had an influence on talk-turns. If two persons are acquainted with each other had experience in sharing common areas of interest then waiting for talk-turns seems to be less of a concern.

Community meeting or gatherings, the local officials duplicate meeting patterns from the provincial level of government that brings officials out to meet with the villagers. This kind of meeting provides services and activities for the villagers who join the meeting. The activities are, for example, giving free haircuts, vaccines for pets, giveaways, and other services. The meeting starts with several officials taking turns to provide news and to introduce other officials, and their responsibilities, so that people know who to contact with a particular problem. People hardly ask questions. A village might want a community leader or their headman to be their representative and to speak for them. It is rare for villagers to speak up. For villagers, free-of-charge services and giveaways seem to be worth coming for. At least per interviews, and per an account from one of the 3 southern border provinces, *most people will come because, during an election period, people receive money and stuff a lot. but, they are not interested in meetings or seminars that are held to give them knowledge, but they'll be interested only in the gatherings that give them things.*

Socialising is found in some meetings that are only between officials, but the meeting chairperson usually is in charge of who speaks. One will be allowed to talk only when the chairperson agrees. Also, one person talks at a time, and, in some cases, someone will still interrupt. If so, the chairperson will decide who will speak. For villagers, cross talk, all talking at once, and various tones of voice or laughter are frequent.

The following table is a summary of monologue, dialogue, and social discourse patterns. Monologue is found when there is discourse amongst officials and villagers,

or just between officials; Dialogue is found mostly when villagers talk among themselves, or when and officials do the same; however, occasionally, this is also found when villagers and official meet; and villagers seem to speak the most in that instance.

Table 5.1 Summary of Discourse Patterns

Monologue-5	Dialogue-9	Social-20
Official and villagers - 4	Villager-Villager - 5	Villager-Villager - 12
Official-Official - 1	Official-Official - 2	Official-Official - 4
	Official-Villager - 2	Official-Villager - 4

Discourse Patterns: Monologue, Dialogue, and Social Excerpts

Some dialogues are selected as excerpts to support the dialogue patterns found; the full transcripts are available in the appendix.

- 1. Monologue** There are 5 monologue dialogues in total tape recorded: 4 dialogues of official and official, and 1 between officials.

1.1 Conversation between officials and villagers

Excerpt a: Monologue-Conversation between officials and villagers

Type: A meeting between official and villagers. 7.13 mins. in length.

Original Language: Thai—Northeastern dialect

Location: Ubonratchatani

Participants: over 20 people

Background: a meeting is held in one of a building where the volunteer will receive training.

Context of conversation: The chief of the district meets with the villagers who volunteered for a project. It is the first day on which the volunteer will receive training. The chief of the district is invited to give an opening speech.

Head of Voln: ↓Chief of the ceremony, with respect, I'm Utai Pankorn, a volunteer
•h and a committee of this training for increasing our capability of us,

the volunteers. •h Thank you •h the Tung Sri Udom district chief for
•h the opening ceremony•h. Today•h, I'd like to•h tell you in brief
about how this training•h has begun•h. The volunteers are important
resource in conducting foundation of public health. We •h volunteer
in developing capacity of people in the community, •h making
understanding among community, spreading good news, cooperating
the public health services, health their hardness and behave ourselves
to be good examples to others•h.

17 C: ↓District assistant•h, representatives•h from health centre•h, TAO
18 members, chief volunteer, and all 26 new volunteers. Today•h is a
19 good day and I am glad to ↓be here as a head of the village volunteer
20 force ability management•h today. I have always said that•h the
21 people of village volunteer force•h are a quality force that have been
22 developed, trained and done activities continuously•h. If I were to
23 compare you with the soldiers in the field, you would be the front-
24 line•h infantry•h. You may not be the generals or the commanders•h
25 but you would be the brave men who scout the battlefield or the point
26 out the targets for the artillery.

Excerpt b : Monologue-Conversation between officials and villagers

Original Language: Thai—North-eastern dialect

Location: Udonthani province

Participants: villagers from 2 villages join this meeting

Background: The meeting is conducted outdoor in a temple area where's everyone can easily join.

Context of conversation: Chief Executive of the TAO brought out his team and services to serve the villagers which that the meeting pattern was a replicate of the provincial caravan. The purpose of the gathering was to introduce his team and listen to villagers' problems or needs.

- 1 M1: ↑Hello brothers and sisters of both villages↓. All please have a seat (
- 2) you can have your cut done another half later, you could come sit here first●h.
- 3 For those who're registering can continue, only those that are signing in●h the
- 4 rest please sit here. Stuff will be given to all households. I'm aware that
- 5 people would want to go home to prepare dinner but I have foods provided for
- 6 all if you're hungry can just go ahead have some now●h choose what you
- 7 like●h. Brothers and sisters all have joined several meetings, I'd like to
- 8 introduce ●h, first may I invite Mr.Palit●h. He's an assistant chief district, is
- 9 he here?●h He's responsible for the herd, chicken, duck, about selling them.
- 10 You could call him or me I'll can contact him. ().....
- 13 V: Hello brothers and sisters●h from Suan Suay and Nopwang Village and all
- 14 who're here today. The problem in our village is about career. I'm●h a local
- 15 and have seen all about development. First, problem is () Since the
- 16 Chief District's moved here●h many years ago about public problem still can't
- 17 manage it.●h. Last year, the Chief TAO allocated a budget●h to put the picket
- 18 on the land and the budget was not allocated carelessly so we couldn't
- 19 continue●h ()....

The meeting pattern was copied from that of the provincial caravan whereby a band of officials come to offer services and giveaways to the villagers, as well as to hear their problems. First, it started with the main official introducing his team members to the villagers so that people would know the names and faces, including their

responsibilities. Villagers liked joining this type of gathering. Their problems were usually raised up by their representatives instead of speaking of these on their own. Listening, or one-way communication from the officials, was common.

Excerpts c: Monologue-Conversation between officials and villagers

Community meeting at Nakorn Ratchasima (Korat)

Original Language: Thai—central dialect

Location: in a village, Nakorn Ratchasima Province

Person recording: This conversation is recorded by the researcher

Participants: several villagers and officials

Background: Villagers were called to join the community meeting in a meeting place-open door where people sat together on the floor listening to the officials.

Context of conversation: Replicate the provincial meeting to the village meeting

Palad = TAO Secretary

O/fm = Official-Female

O/m = Official-Male

H = Headman

13

8 Palad Okay, spray away the mosquitoes. It's quite late •h, though, lots of work to
9 do. Division of health has just doctor Neng, ↓he could talk later↑. Second
10 division•h is the division of education religion and culture•h. The education
11 specialist named Chantana. Third division is•h engineer•h; it's in charge of
12 approving↑ construction building. Forth is•h division of treasury. Many
13 come from treasury today. I'll let them speak explaining about taxpaying,
14 when to pay, and what to bring with you•h. May I invite a representative
15 from the treasury to give•h details to our people, please...

16 O/fm ↓Hello, •h↑ I think you know about paying tax•h, don't know what else to
17 say ☺☺. Property tax includes •h shops •h, factories, house for rent•h, or
18 garage. It's applied for people who have these types of business need to pay
19 for the property tax•h, signboard tax. The factories or the beauty parlour
20 shop need to pay for the signboard tax•h, required by the local maintenance
21 tax term•h. I realize that people at Nong Lan Kha have paid for tax a lot•h
22 and you have many pieces of land as many as 5 villages. Still a lot, •h over
23 200 people have passed due. Now,•h please pay the tax so that we can use it
24 to develop our community. That's all for me. [Applause]

25 Palad ↓I'll like to add •h about the tax. The taxes she was just talking about have
26 3 types •h, first •h is property tax for those who have own a business which is
27 many kinds, not only we mentioned. •h Well grocery, rice mill, garage •h are
28 in the category that need to pay for the property tax. The house for rent

29 business that you collect the rent ↓monthly from the tenant, we calculate
 30 from the rental rate↑. In case that you open a shop and own the property not
 31 rented, you pay the tax by the size of the shop. •h Second type of taxes is the
 32 signboard tax•h. ...

The authorities took turns to speak with the villagers to explain their services and that it was the duty of the villagers to comply with issues; for example, paying income tax and signboard tax. Villagers could ask questions; but no one had any, therefore, the officials continued speaking. There was a lot of information for the villagers to absorb and it was unlikely that the villagers remembered everything that they were told.

1.2 Monologue: Conversation between officials

Location: Meeting hall at an office of a district in Amnart Charoen province

Participants: 3 main speakers spoke to many officials participate the meeting:
 district headmen, village headmen, assistants, and other department
 heads

Background: The meeting was organised in a hall where the sound system was not very good.

Context of conversation: The district called a meeting to inform about the coming national election and to prepare for the related job. Rules and regulations which were important and relevant to such event must be reviewed and followed.

54 **Senior assistant district officer:** In this election we only have 37 days counting
 55 from today we only have 30 or 29 day left. ●h It's an urgent job to carry on about
 56 coordinating with the District and village headmen to manage this. This part ●h
 57 May I invite the Office of Election Commission officer who is cordially join us in the
 58 meeting.

59 **Office of Election Commission of Thailand:** Senior assistant district officer, all
 60 chief official departments, District and village headmen. As acknowledged that ●h
 61 in April↓ we will not say that which year is the year of election ↑saying it in
 62 month is in April which the month of election and it's a national election in the same
 63 day. At first, the Election Commission thought it would be a just senator election on
 64 April 19th ●h then it came the dissolve the parliament on February 24th so that the
 65 election of members of parliament is taken. ●h The Election Commission is
 66 designated to organize the election is approaching only 30 something days.....

67 **Deputy Governor:** Sitting and talk is not fun, ●h it's better to stand up. I'm glad to
 68 see many of you in the meeting. I don't see people circle around smoking outside.
 69 ●h A poster says that this area allow no smoking if one does will have pay 2,000
 70 baht fine but ↓if the smoker is from this district the Chief district will make the
 71 smoker pay 20,000 baht go head↑.....

Meeting between officials were mostly to inform about and update news on government policies to be deployed in each official unit. The pattern of the monologue of the villagers and officials and the conversation between officials were similar in that the officials seemed to talk to themselves. Plus, the listeners did not seem to have questions or attempt to converse with the speakers. However, the purpose of the speaking was to look for cooperation and for the giving of directions.

2. Dialogue There are 9 dialogues in total tape recorded: 5 dialogues between villagers, 2 between officials, and 2 between officials and villagers. Some experts are illustrated below.

2.1 Conversation between villagers Section I and II show two-way communication even though both interlocutors were interrupted by a small girl

crying. But, they continued their conversation. However the topics discussed changed from one to another in a natural manner.

The first excerpt, the interlocutors are participating spontaneously in the conversation. When one person told of his idea, another person participated in the conversation to show that he knows what the speaker was talking about. Also, there were pauses and laughter in amidst the dialogue.

Excerpt a: Dialogue-Conversation between villagers

Location: Trat

Participants: 2 villagers.

Background: Learning centre shares a space in the hall of a temple where with a. The primary students were there and making background noise. At the same time, the group member is auditing the accounts and preparing month-end figures so that the group can announce dividend to its members. It is a community fund, just like a village bank where locals deposit money. It has loans and saving services promotion. The volunteers help by auditing the accounts and do the closings before they can distribute the dividend.

Context: The villagers were talking about how the community shop works.

Pradit Jamrat at Trat

- 72 P: And we began, thousands of people have been buying from us. It's quite
73 successful, right? We don't have a shop and don't have to pay tax. Only have
74 a space to keep the goods so that the buyers pay less because they don't have
75 to pay for the trip coming to buy. Just a person comes to pick up the goods
76 and distributes to their group.
- 77 J: []
- 78 P It's cheaper this way, people don't have to go to the market, just stay at
79 home. ☺. Right?
- 80 P Can you believe that we decrease the gas price in our community? We have a
81 lot of members. Suppose there's a competition from other gas shops, but the
82 members buy from us instead. Finally, Trat people buy gas cheaper.

- 83 J [We buy from the same gas shop and
 84 same standard weight, and we can do it. We are going reverse to the trend or
 85 to the consumerism. We make something happened which I think it's going
 86 to succeed if we understand more about the process into implementation and
 87 about marketing techniques.]
- 88 P [We encourage our people to realize about big picture of the group. Whoever
 89 sells cheaper than ours don't patronage it because if this gathering is fail, the
 90 others will later increase their prices anyway. Right now, it might reduce the
 91 price because it wants to compete with us. We have to let the members
 92 understand this so they buy with us and pay cheaper.] huh-huh-huh.=
- 93 J But, asking whether they believe us not to buy from others, they don't.
- 94 P [Ah, they don't but..]
- 95 J There's a way to make them stay with us even in fact they don't buy the idea.
 96 It's a technique of the marketing, we tell them that if they're admitted in a
 97 hospital the group pays 200 baht a night but if you buy gas from us, we pay
 98 you 60 baht extra a night.

Excerpt b: Dialogue-Conversation between villagers

Location: At a villager's house, Kanjanaburi province

Participants: 4 villagers

Background: Yod visited Nueng at home. Nueng raises cows and birds for a living.

He lives with 8 years old son and a 3 years old daughter. His wife works in Bangkok.

Context of conversation: Nueng's house is surrounded by trees and wild birds. The conversation is held outside where cows and birds are raised close to the house.

[I] Yod and Nueng at Kanjanaburi

- 1 Nueng: This morning I drove to buy some milk to feed it. -3.01-
 2 Yod: Aho! What about the mother cow? -3.03-
 3 Nueng: She can't suck from the mother, don't know why, the tits are big. 3.07-
 4 Yod: Are they?. -3.09-
 5 Nueng: Um. (I). fed her a jug. -3.12-
 6 Yod: Nueng, you sold the cows? -3.15-
 7 Nueng: Umm.. I did. -3.17-
 8 Yod: Oho!..richman heh-heh-heh -3.19-

First section the interlocutors talk about raising cow and milking the cow. When Nueng is asked about how much he earns from selling the cow he did not answer. Yod only fills in by teasing and laugh.

[II] Yod and Nueng at Kanjanaburi

- 1 Girl: (crying)...-4.44-4.46-
- 2 Nueng: what..what? -4.48-
- 3 Girl: (I'm) going (with you) -4.49-
- 4 Nueng: wanna come, come. -4.51-
- 5 Girl: (I'm) bring the rat. -4.53-
- 6 Nueng: Hey no rat, not with the rat. -4.56-
- 7 Girl: (the girl's crying) (I'm) bring it with me. -5.01-
- 8 Nueng: See that cart, filled with saw sharpen..No.-5.05- (turns to explain to Yod that
- 9 the girl wants to bring the rat with her to the market). ☺ -5.11-
- 10 Yod: What rat? -5.13-
- 11 Nueng: Small little rat. -5.15- (turns to his daughter and tell her not the bring the rat
- 12 with them) -5.18-
- 13 Yod: Oh! Is that Nong Bua's wish giving image? (looks at his small Buddha image
- 14 Nueng hangs on his neck) -5.22-
- 15 Nueng: Nong Bua. -5.23-
- 16 Yod: Wish giving is awesome, can I have that? -5.26-
- 17 Nueng: (Smile and heh-heh) P'Yod, shall we? -5.31

Section II, an interruption by Nueng's young daughter pulls him away from talking to Yod for a moment. Yod glances at Nueng's amulet and asks him about the amulet.

Excerpt c: Dialogue-Conversation between villagers

This conversation shows that there were tones of voices and laughter inserted during the interlocutors speaking and unspecified persons are speaking in background.

Location: Lad Yao district, Nakon Sawan province

Participants: 2 persons: a niece and her grandmother

Background: taking outdoor at hometown, Nakon Sawan province

Context: Grandmother was telling a story when she was young to her niece.

Niece and Grandma at Nakon Sawan

- 18 F2: When I was a student I dug air raid shelter ooh↑ the shelter is big and long.
19 We all dug them up seriously to hide from the Japanese soldiers.
20 F1: How many people could fit in the shelter?
21 F2: As many as it could, Ooh!↑it was real deep.
22 F1: Didn't people just fight to get down? [☺ kids' laughter]
23 F2: In fact, it'd never been used, they dug it just in case. When they flew to
24 Nakon Sawan at Pak Nam Bho, I could see them at the Bhing river. They
25 glided over the river and↑ (people) ↓went to the river, ran Ooh↑ fell down
26 from stairs. (we were) so poor.
27 F1: ☺
28 F2: (People) fell into the riverbank and ducked●h They were all over and glided
29 down.
30 ** [come and get it
31 Bell]
32 F1: Was it frightening?
33 ** [What's that?]
34 ** Her shoes.
35 F2: It was frightening. It was like boom! boom! Like that.
36 F1: Were there deaths?

Excerpts d: Dialogue-Conversation between villagers

Villagers in Angthong discuss after they joined a workshop.

- 37 M: There's no chance to meet with the community formally which that we can
38 gather people and there's no coordinate the organizing.
- 39 W: [Each has different goal and they have work to do]
- 40 M: (I'm) looking for
- 41 W: • What do we do to gather people? And each will look for different benefits.
- 42 M: That's an important problem and will be a problem.
- 43 W: Yes.
- 44 M: Getting together
- 45 W: • To call people in, they'll get benefit in sharing the direction and goal.
- 46 M: () walking together in the same direction, getting together is
47 very hard. For those who don't like sticking with the group, dislike rules and
48 regulation.
- 49 W: Yes.
- 50 W: Once the group is formed and share the same goal, one another focus
51 development then progress is made. If we do it, we'll make it happens
- 52 M: First, we'll have to provide them knowledge, why we are doing this and for
53 what outcome.
- 54 W: [for what....]
- 55 W: If people realize the benefit, they'll come.

Both villagers are excited about forming a group of villagers to develop local products for commercial but they do not know how to get people to see the benefit for doing so. This conversation shows that they confirm one another the ideas and add-in their thought about it

Excerpt e: Dialogue-Conversation between villagers

- 1 Yod: Hello Uncle. What are you doing? -0.03-
- 2 Dan: Hello. Making the birds -0.05-
- 3 Yod: What kind of birds? -0.07-
- 4 Dan: White-breasted waterhen...(Nok Kwhak) (Dan hands Yod a piece of ore)
5 look this one I found, is it the same the monk took it last time -0.11-
- 6 Yod: Oh..where did you find this one, uncle? -0.13-

- 7 Dan: There..deep in the wood, picked up from over there where we went with the
8 monk, at that house, that day. -0.17-
- 9 Yod: Yes sir. -0.18-
- 10 Dan: Ah. -0.19-
- 11 Yod: At Aunt Wad's? -0.20-
- 12 Dan: right. -0.21-
- 13 Yod: Umm. -0.22-
- 14 Dan: The same type with over there. -0.25-
- 15 Yod: Umm...um..they'd be the iron oxide as far as I've studied •h them...people in
16 the old time might have done the ore mine? -0.32-
- 17 Dan: ↓Digging out the pieces↑ of potteries? -0.34-
- 18 Yod: ah..those potteries, I took. -0.37-
-
- 35 Yod: How did you catch the birds? -1.17-
- 36 Dan: Whistle blow to call them out. -1.19-
- 37 Yod: How did you? -1.21-
- 38 Dan: Khwak khwak khwak khwak -1.25- (Dan blows between his two palm
39 together to make sound like the bird).
- 40 Yod: Ah..how did you catch them? -1.27-
- 41 Dan: use the net, call them and they fly into the net. (point at the net keeping under
42 the house)-1.30-
- 43 Yod: Oh..-1.31- (walk toward the net hanging)
- 44 Yod: How many did you catch, uncle? -1.33-
- 45 Dan: 11 birds -1.34- (boiling water prepare to quill them).
- 46 Yod: so, please go on with your work, I won't bother you for now. -1.36-
- 47 Dan: Make yourself at home. I'll take you to dig the ore at aunt Wad's. -1.39-
- 48 Yod: Sir. -1.40- (grab the tools to dig up some ore).

Uncle Dan is an adult whom Yod respects, and the pattern of his speech differs when he talks with Nueng, his friend, as compared to talking with uncle Dan. Yod seems to focus on what uncle Dan is working on; the birds, rather than talking about anything else that comes across his mind. He waits for his turn to continue talking.

2.2 Dialogue: Conversation between officials

Excerpt: a Dialogue-Conversation between officials

The official took turn to talk in a manner of formal meeting. There was no cross talk or mixing sound of laughter or raising tone of voice and only short pauses were noticed.

Chief District meeting with headmen at Lampang

Original Language: Thai—central dialect

Background: A meeting hall.

Context of conversation: The chief district official calls a monthly meeting for sub-district and village headmen to attend. A hundred people come to hear the latest policy. This meeting is to give policies and ask for cooperation. Therefore, discussion does not happen in this meeting. The village supervisors take turns to relay messages to the local officials.

- 1 Chief:a hundred percent no one wants. •h This time it is the reputation of the
2 province so that about the management of....everything must be right and
3 proceeded under the rules. I want everyone•h, all the headmen to consent to
4 the laws and attitude toward them.
- 5 M2: Thank you the Chief district. •h He has just said•hin the village level
6 needs to comply to the laws meaning that nothing is illegal•h. I don't
7 want.....•h the village to have any troubles in this part. The village needs to
8 make everything right. I'd like to pass this on to the governor to support
9 between village•h and police station. We don't want to apply the hard way
10 for those....
- 11
- 12 ... Another thing•h is about a project of the Office of Community
13 Development•h, it is the safety driving project•h to encourage people to obey
14 the traffic rules•h. The area in the project starts from the intersection near the
15 land department to the Kho Kha intersection•h. It is 2 kilometres long•h.
16 The zone will be monitored for the rules of helmet wearing, seat belt
17 fastening•h, and the turning head light on with helmet wearing

2.3 Dialogue: Conversation between official and villager

Excerpt a: Dialogue-Conversation between official and villager

This meeting was informal and the chief district official spoke the local dialect and moreover the villagers were acquainted with him so that they could respond to when asked.

Location: the informal meeting was organised at a multi-purpose village space where villagers sat on the floor listening to the chief district official from the Ubonratchatani province

Participants: over 30 people

Background: in a village

Context of conversation: The chief district met with the villagers to emphasis the danger of the yellow fever decease and other issues with the locals.

C: •h Currently•h, ↑I'm hardly around. I'd been in the trainings and the poverty eradication issue has come. The chief districts from 8 provinces in Esan were called in to be trained•h and select some to learn solving poverty problem. Some chief has been in service for 20 years, they're still learning in the course. •h Last year, there are 7 chief districts•h, not only me the chief named Wattana•h, to be trained in solving poverty problem. Poverty problem has many dimensions, not just one.....
.....To increase your opportunity, to increase your opportunity means, instead of growing just rice•h, you increase your opportunity by find extra earning. What are the second jobs our people do? •h Growing vegetable, weaving. Mother Uan makes the fermented chilli paste☺. Some time she made salad for sale. Is she here today?

V: She's gone to Bangkok.

C: Gone to Bangkok, some plant the chilly, the bean.

V: Some raise cows.

3. Social

3.1 Social: Conversation between villagers

Excerpt a: Social-Conversation between villagers

A villager visits a family with whom they are acquainted for many years. While the visitor asked questions the villager was still talking with someone. But, it did not seem to bother the visitor that the villager did not respond to her questions. The interlocutors could start new topics at any time.

Visiting cousins in Tak province

Location: Tak province

Participants: 3 villagers

Background: a villager who had moved to Bangkok came to visit her cousins in a village afar.

Context of conversation: The conversation was conducted at a villager's home.

- 1 ** It's the Superware bought. Gone to the mushroom's, there, in the bowl.CT -
2 0.08-
3 L2: the mushroom, mushroom. (0.10)
4 L1: () -0.26-(0.05)
5 ** Don't know, there was none, might be some in the afternoon. (0.31) (0.31-
6 0.58 ...unclear...)!
7 L1: How many days passed that you married? (01.05)
8 L2: giving a birth, how many day have you given a birth, sister? (01.13)
9 L1: 8 months.(01.14)
10 L2: Is the dad a soldier, I see he's Border Patrol Police (01.23)
11 L1: He is Border Patrol Police I just gave a birth for 2 days and he had to go to
12 work. (01.26)
13 L2: How long has he been working? (1.28)
14 L1: Can you remember how long has he been working? (1.30)
15 L2: He is doing the guard job. (1.36)
16 L1: Oh, guarding (1.37)
17 L2: 3 months. (1.40)
18 L1: just 3 months. (1.41)

- 19 L1: the son looks just like his father. ☺ ...(01.43-1.55 can't hear it)**salute
 20 salute can you do just like you dad? Salute! (2.02)
- 21 L3: He competed for a golf club and hurt his lip. His teacher wrote a letter and
 22 put it in his pocket., I found his lip swollen when he came down the bus. His
 23 toy was gone. (2.27)
- 24 L1: When you grow up, will you go to school in Nakon Swan or Bangkok? (2.28)
- 25 L2: Are you going to take care of him? ☺ (2.34-2.36)**.
- 26 L2: Wanna go? (2.37)
- 27 L3: Would you? (2.41)
- 28 L2: Do you know Nakon Sawan?(2.45)
- 29 L1: At auntie's has a lot of people.(2.45)
- 30 L3: Umm...at auntie's has a lot of people.(2.46)
- 31 L1: (...2.46-2.55.....)
- 32 L2: go sit with your mom. (2.58)
- 33 L3: In a while he'll go to school and has 2 days off, Saturday and Sunday. (3.00)

Excerpt b: Social-Conversation between villagers

Three friends were having dinner together and talking about foods, and friends who were from the same hometown in a north-eastern province. They also discussed family members. All talked at the same time as well as there being laughter and teasing tone of voice as shown below.

Amnart Charoen Dinner

Location: Bangkok

Person recording: This conversation is recorded by a friend who is also local.

Participants: 3 villagers: one male and two females.

Background: It's a birthday occasion for one of the participants. They're locals from Amnartcharoen, in the north-eastern part of Thailand. They work in Bangkok and get together for their friend for birthday dinner.

Context of conversation: Friends from the same hometown get together for a dinner as one of them had a birthday. Each brings some food, like a potluck party. They sit down and then get up to do things, such as to set up a table and, then, talk throughout the evening.

- 1 M: Urr..urr..urr...put in on either left or right.
2 W1: Place the sauce there.
3 M: 2 glasses of ice.
4 W1: No more saying.
5 M: What do you bring to eat with the drink..urr..urr...fill it up to full....
6 W1: umm...umm...
7 M: just like that....(.....)
8 W1: (....)
9 M: Urr..it's full.
10 W1: What did you order this morning?.... I ordered the pig's tongue with Noi
11 who's at the market to cook. Stewed Pig's tongue.
12 M: [That' alright that's alright.]
1
23 M: ☺ Where's Uncle Hong?
24 W1: Huuuuu....He's gone to catch some fish...(ladies)
25 M: huh-huh-huh
26 W1: When he's drunk he sees thighs and need some dopes.

27 M: ☺ come..come.
 28 W: Where was your sister yesterday?
 29 M:big sis...big sis....
 30 W1: Last night spent a night here.
 31 M: That's an improvement.
 32 W1: Pound, pound, pound.
 33 M: Ummm..
 34 W1: Last night, I bought the sweet and sour fish.
 35 M: [It's okay, it's okay.]
 36 W1: Seeing the thighs making your legs weak...Freeze?
 37 M: [heh-heh-heh]
 38 W1: You're like my brother.
 39 M: ☺ Sweet smell.
 40 W: ☺ (0.05) Is your brother coming? Huh?
 41 M: heh-heh-heh No.
 42 W1: Where's he?
 43 M: ☺(Laugh) Central.=
 44 W1: Central Ladpraw? That's near ours, Central Ladpraw.
 45 M: [When are you going back?] Tomorrow? What's uncle Kaew
 46 do?
 47 W1: Are they together?
 48 (All talks and tell one another to start dinner) AT

Excerpt c: Social-Conversation between villagers

Conversation in Chiengrai

Original Language: Thai—northern dialect

Location: Chiengrai

Person recording: This conversation is recorded by a friend who's local.

Participants: 5 villagers

Background: When someone in a village dies, villager will come at the home to the deceased help in the ceremony. The host will provide foods for the guests who join and help with the ceremony. Men help with physical work while women do the cooking. The body will be set up at home for 4-5 days before moving it to the temple for cremation.

1st Tape

- 1 1st: Pol, passed that way, did you stop to visit uncle Gnoen?
2 2nd: His condition is serious...don't know what to do...if he could pass tonight
3 it'd be a miracle...☺.
4 1st: It'll be another feast!
5 2nd: Don't know, up to his family to manage.
6 Taa, excuse me.....just ate spicy boar for 4 bites, people kept telephoning
7 him.
8 3rd: How's Uncle Gnoen? How heavy (serious) he's?
9 2nd: Not heavy, it's light...☺(laugh).....(make it a joke)
10 4th: No one carrying him?
11 2nd: No, didn't carry.
12 But Taa said....who said its Pai, the pig is Thep's.
13 4th: How much (does it cost) now?
14 2nd: Eighty for 2 kgs.
15 4th: Is the pig pregnant?
16 2nd: Not pregnant...not pregnant, here...4, 5 piglets.
17 4th: I don't eat that pig
18 2nd: Uhh?
19 4th: Can't eat that pig
20 2nd: Don't care who'd eat or not eat...even dead is alright...pregnant pig.
21 1st: Dead↑?
22 2nd: Dead?...it's knifed!

- 30Noisy people speak at the same time.....[AT]
- 31 2nd: Two hundred ten....two kilos.
- 32 5th Over 2 kilos, right?
- 33 2nd: 4 kilos are around two hundreds twenty
- 34 Mushroom's coming over there....mushroom's carried over there.
- 35 1st: From now on there'll be plenty of mushrooms.
- 36 2nd: Mushroom comes...mushrooms...mushrooms...mushrooms' over there...on
- 37 the road.
- 38 Over there...mushrooms...middle of the road. (sound very exciting to see
- 39 the mushroom vendor)
- 40Noisy, people speak at the same time.....[AT]

Villagers are conversing during working in a kitchen. The dialogues change from topic to another. They are making joke among themselves, laughter, shouting, and all talk at once are happened.

Excerpt d: Social-Conversation between villagers

Participants: 4 villagers, 3 from the researcher's team.

Background: The locals have been talking about their relations. We stop the car to talk to them.

Context of conversation: The locals in Surin some speak Khmer of the Cambodia where close to the border. The locals spend their afternoon talking about their relations.

M = a male lecturer who knows the language V1,2,3, and 4 = old lady villagers who are talking the language

W = a female lecturer who takes us to the place

- 21 V1: Told me about the background of the relatives from your parents' side and
- 22 from my grandmother and grandfather in-law's side.
- 23 V2: It's a sketchy.☺
- 24 V1: That's why I asked you, it's difficult for me to trace back. I do not quite
- 25 remember.

26 V2: Alright, let's say that the father and the mother passed away. The children
 27 left could hardly know their relatives on both sides so they don't know one
 28 another.

29 V2: In the past, we have always thought of them as relatives so it has been like
 30 that since.

31 V1: When there are functions (giving merit or religious ceremony) we have never
 32 forget to tell grandma, we respect her, and will never forget you.

.....

47 V1: I asked people over there, and they said this is Grandpa Wien's niece.
 48 However, I don't know which one Grandpa Wien was and when did he pass
 49 away. All☺

50 V1: Whose grandpa was Grandpa Wien?

51 V3: He was our grandpa.

52 V4: Whose grandpa could he be? He is ours....☺

53 V3: Eighty what.....oh, eighty-one.

54 V4: So, you are eighty...eight-two.

55 V:3 So, I'm older than grandma then.

56 V4: Really?, I had no idea. This grandma is older than that grandma. You have
 57 no gray hair.

58 V3: If we go somewhere together, I get to sleep on the mattress and grandma can
 59 sleep on the mat.

60 V3: This one is sarong kamor, this one is sarong nack nack, this one calls mu mu.
 61 This one is la-sai...☺

62 V4: We're too old to buy these things. I can't wear them we're shy.

63 M: Lecturer...what do they do for a living there?

64 V1: They're mostly farmers. When the harvesting season is over, they will get
 65 hire-hand job. Women usually weave. They just do it and they do not
 66 concern much about the cost or profit. They just sell what they can make,
 67 one or two at a time.

68 V1: Old person like me (grandma), would take care of the cattle.

69 V2: If you are very old like I am, you do nothing.

70 V3: Can't do much in the rural so we have them raise the cattle.

71 V2: What else can we do? The kids just have got to work.

Villagers are talking about their relatives tracing the family line with joy and laughter so that all interlocutors can join in the conversation at any point in time.

Excerpt e: Social-Conversation between villagers

Original Language: Thai—E-sarn dialect

Location: Ubonratchatani

Person recording: This conversation is recorded by researcher.

Participants: 3 villagers: one male and two females.

Background: After the chief talked to the villager about the yellow fever, the village headman invited us to have lunch with them. Several ladies are cooking and preparing food for us. They cook a dessert made by pumpkin called in their dialect as //Bug Uur//..

- 47 L1: When I first went to Bangkok, they call it Sapparod (pineapple), when I got to
48 the shop I called it Sappanut.
49 M: Why did you say Sappanut?
50 L: I said it all the way Sapparod Sapparod and when I saw it I called it Sappanut
51 ☺. How can the e-sarn say the central dialect,
52 ** Where did you say that?
53 L: I remembered to say //I'd like to buy some limes, na// but I said //I'd like to
54 buy some limes, nhae↑//.
55 L1: In new year I came back home. I didn't remember how to get the cows away
56 so I said //Loong loong loong loong//. All ☺
57 L: [Bug Mee Bug Mee (Jack fruit)]
.....
66 L2: I used to have strawberries when I was in Bangkok, it's tasty.
67 L:3 Who hasn't got the house number? Who hasn't?
68 L:2 That's spicy.
69 (Villagers start talking among themselves) AT
70 L: The old people call it Bug Prick (chilly). Makua Som is Makua Thed
71 (tomato) The old people tell us to pick some Makua Som to make the spicy
72 salad. The old is eating rice and beef and a girl ask her mother //what movie
73 did you see?// Mother replies //**Nua** Song Chin// ☺..The mother actually
74 wants to say //**Nua** Ku// All ☺.
75 L: When Thais are eating don't ask questions. Who'd admit they say it wrong.
76 The hot soup burns the tongue. It's hot! The Khamers can talk, their tongues

- 77 are flexible but us the e-sarn people's. The tongues are twisted, we can talk
 78 we might bite our tongue. ☺
- 79 L: Don't gossip, he's sitting there.
- 80 L: Speak some central dialect.....it doesn't matter to eat or not to eat... it
 81 gives me heart burn.
- 82 L: In next 3 months it's gonna change, the high school students.

Villagers are discussing about language spoken while one of the villagers worked in Bangkok and tried to speak like a Bangkokian, but could not. Others also joined the conversation. One tells another story about the language and also gossips.

Excerpt f: Social-Conversation between villagers

Original Language: Thai—Putai dialect

Location: Bangkok

Person recording: This interview is recorded by one of the teenagers participated in the conversation.

Participants: 3 Putai participants

Context of conversation: the conversation is recorded at a student's dormitory talking about activities at their university and friends.

- 1 Jo: Where would you go tomorrow, Puu?
- 2 Puu Puu will go to Suan Dusit because a TV program by Sorrayuth will broadcast
 3 there at the auditorium, need to be there at 6.30am, I'll go there at 5am, have
 4 no class tomorrow then will go out to find a place for training.
- 5 Jo Oor, what about you?
- 6 Oor I have Principle of Marketing class and other class till evening.
- 7 Jo Can Puu call the place. In the morning after the class, ask them whether they
 8 would let us train with them at Pleonjit?
- 9 Puu Where at?
- 10 Jo At Pleonjit.
-
- 18 Oor The other day I say a small girl, is she the one named Ice?
- 19 Puu Which one? Could be Mai, (she has) lighter skin color?
- 20 Oor No, the darker one, may be a different group, saw them walking together

21 Jo, the other day (you) went to Prajomklaow to look for research, find some?
 22 CT
 23 Jo There was some, but a few.
 24 Oor Yes, since long time ago. Don't tell (me) that you'd worn the casual every
 25 time. The slip ons are okay but the thongs are not allowed.
 26 Puu Some people could (get in) with the thongs.
 27 Oor No, that's no allowed those might not be noticed.
 ...
 49 Oor About Koi called, did I tell you?
 50 Puu Heard a bit.
 51 Oor (Talking) about Ple, Jo you know she left (school) didn't drop.
 52 Jo Why left?
 53 Oor Entrance back again but same faculty, (she) should be the 3rd year now (if
 54 didn't left). Her 2nd year score was bad, but don't know her parents know
 55 about this that she left to re-entrance again. (I) just met Joob at Thammasart
 56 (university) so I asked her and a girl studying there the same faculty as she is,
 57 I asked if she knew Ple's studying 4th year? She said she knew Ple--Thitima
 58 studying 3rd year and riding black motorcycle.

Teenagers are talking after school. The dialogue leads to anything that comes to mind. They talk about activities that they had done at school, about people they all know and about any other topic raised.

Excerpt g: Social-Conversation between villagers

Villager: Students talking

Original Language: Thai—local dialect

Location: Suan Dusit, Trang province distance learning centre

Date recorded: 10-03-06

Person recording: This conversation is recorded by an employee at the centre.

Participants: 4 villagers: Sellers and Customers

Background:

Context of conversation: Students are talking about school work and grade, as well as that one of the students, is asked to see her lecture about her school work and grade.

C = ?

A = ?

X = Unknown

B = Man

- 1 A : (00.01.38) In a moment↑ I'll submit to the lecturer, I'm writing↑ it and↑
- 2 แล้ว put the university name on it and then I'll submit↑ it.
- 3 C : (00.01.53) *** Noise ***
- 4 A : (00.02.05) Can't do that. The lecturer said today, urgent.
- 5 C : (00.02.07) Call here, (I did) she doesn't show up.
- 6 A : (00.02.09) Ah↓, what to do then.
- 7 *** Noise ***
- 8 A : (00.02.51) Man↑, where↑ will go for the training?
- 9 B : (00.03.00) ?????
- 10 X : (00.02.51) (saying something)**
- 11 A : (00.03.34) Where↑ to eat?
- 12 X : (00.03.35) ?????
- 13 *** Noise ***
- 14 A : (00.03.55) Call Kay first, don't be silly
- 15 A : (00.04.07) =Seriously, call Kay first what she talk to the lecturer
- 16 C : (00.04.09) (I) think it's alright.
- 17 A : (00.04.10) The lecturer will grade the paper today↑. If it turns out to be //E//
- 18 ↑ (fail) wouldn't you be dying↑? We almost graduate↓
- 19 X : (00.00.01) (*chating..*)**

20 A : (00.00.05) (Calling the friend)..it's about the lecturer asking to see you, just
21 you, Kay not just anyone else..umm..(you) ask her..(I) don't know what it's about
22 ..umm..umm..umm, alright then.

The interlocutors are classmates and they try to communicate how serious of the situation is that one of their friends needs to see a lecturer about her grade. This instance emphasises the tone of voice, being high and low tone, as is obvious in the conversation.

Excerpt h: Social-Conversation between villagers

Type: Conversation between villagers. 1.57 mins. in length.

Original Language: Thai

Location: a night market in Trang

Date recorded: 14-01-06

Person recording: This conversation is recorded in a market by researcher.

Participants: 2 villagers: Sellers and Customers

Background:

Context of conversation: 2 customers buying lingerie in a local market where it has almost everything in one place for local to shop at a lower price.

A = customer 1 B = customer 2 C = seller

- 1 C: (...unclear...) (0.06)
- 2 A: Are these all you have? (0.08)
- 3 C: They're sold out. (0.09)
- 4 B: 3 colours (you have)? (0.10)
- 5 C: Yes. (0.11)
- 6 B: [Good sales]
- 7 C: It's 35 each. (0.12)
- 8 B: umm...(0.13)
- 9 C: (People) mostly buy 3 pieces at a time. (0.16)
- 10 B: umm..(0.17)
- 11 C: Here, there are 3 left. They're nice (0.19)
- 12 B: [hm hm hm]
- 13 A: The colour looks like coffee..ah..no..like Thai tea. (0.22)
- 14 C: [It's nice]
- 15 B: Heh..heh..heh These two colours look okay..white and off-white are
- 16 nice..(0.02)..Urr the blue is nice wearing with the blue nightgown.
- 17 0.31=heh...heh...heh
- 18 A: Na uh...I usually put on the pullover and the pants. (0.36)
- 19 B: [huh..huh..huh..urr the pants.]

A couple of ladies are buying clothes and negotiating the price with the seller. The buyers talk among themselves and the buyers inquire about the price and style. Overlap talking is common.

Excerpt i: Social-Conversation between villagers

Type: Conversation between villagers. 14.38 mins. in length.

Original Language: Thai—Supanburi dialect

Location: Supanburi

Date recorded: 18-10-06

Person recording: This conversation is recorded by a friend who's local and member of the family.

Participants: 4 villagers: one male and two females.

Background: 2 families living next door and they are relatives. One family is having lunch while some other members are working on the fishing rod and wives are cooking.

Context of conversation: Family members work in Bangkok and visit their parents. Some are eating and cooking, another family comes over to eat and work on the fishing rod and talking about their neighbours and relatives.

- 1 M 1It's never end. mm (0.16)=
- 2 M 2 () (0.07) What? Why?
- 3 M 1 No, I don't want to eat out at the market; I'm afraid I couldn't help myself
- 4 from those lady boy teenagers. Heh-heh-heh.
- 5 M 2 () 0.48-0.50 =
- 6 M1 () 0.51-0.52 =
- 7 M 2 Here, take a shot. (0.56) =
- 8 M 1 Neh..have no money, do you? (0.58) =
- 9 M 2 I don't..I had 400 and now I have 100 left. (1.00) =
- 10 M 1 You have a supporter, just have one. (1.03) =
- 11 M 2 What supporter, there's a vehicle fee as well. (1.05) =
- 12 M1 Your supporter's coming, you picked him up, and you'll have to charge for
- 13 the time, principle plus interest. (1.15) =
- 14 M 2 There're some alcohol in the house. (1.23) =
- ...
- 17 M1 It won't take long. (1.24) =
- 18 M 2 P'Noh doesn't have the flashlight, doesn't he? (1.26) =
- 19 M1 Umm, we've got to bring something at least one, otherwise we have to catch
- 20 by net or fishing rod, something like these. (1.36) =

.....

- 50 M 2, M 3 (All speak at the same time) 3.57-3.58
- 51 M1 One is Yoon's wife, and another one's Khlaa's wife. (4.02) CT
- 52 M 2 I thought it was that outfit. (4.04) =
- 53 M 1 That outfit was before this one. (4.06) =
- 54 M 2 This one doesn't look young. (4.08) =
- 55 M 1 We don't know that if she's virgin or not, don't say anymore. (4.12) =

Excerpt j: Social-Conversation between villagers

Villagers Chantaburi

Type: A conversation of villagers..... in length.

Original Language: Thai—Central dialect

Location: at a municipal school, Klung district, Chantaburi province

Date recorded: October 23, 2007

Person recording: a villager records the conversation.

Participants:local teachers converse in their free time

Background: teachers talk in front of classroom.

Context of conversation: school teachers talk among themselves in their free time
about people they know.

M1: male teacher W1: female teacher1 W2: female teacher2 W3: female
teacher3

- 1 M1: ↓Which day (we) host for Suwit's↑ since last night?
- 2 W2: Our school?
- 3 M1: Yes, what day (we) host?
- 4 W1: One more night (to go).
- 5 M1: The cremation is on Friday Saturday.
- 6 W1: Last two nights, there're still no host.
- 7 W2: When's the last day of the lent? 26th?
- 8 M1: Right, on the Saturday.
- 9 W2: ↓Last day of the lent is on Thursday↑
- 10 M1: Saturday is Dhevo-Rohano Offering on 27th.
- 11 W1: Really?
- 12 W2: Buddhist's holy day is on Thursday, right?
- 13 W3: Ah, doesn't it on Friday?
- 14 W1: Hey! What?
- 15 W2: Hey!
- 16 M1: Front of the car could be damaged already.
- 17 W2: No, front of the car might run into the wall already ☺☺☺
- 18 M1: Urr he put his car away.
- 19 W2: ↑Who's that in red shirt?↓ Who's that kid?
- 20 M1: That's teacher, Nongnu.

21 W2: Hhaa!

Villagers are talking about things and keep changing from one topic to another. Some sentence is not said completely; but, the interlocutors understand.

Excerpt k: Social-Conversation between villagers

Selling and buying mushroom

Type: Conversation between villagers. 1.55 mins. in length.

Original Language: Thai—Northern dialect

Location: A market in Lampang

Date recorded: 02-06-05

Person recording: This conversation is recorded by in a market by researcher.

Participants: 4 villagers: Sellers and Customers

Background: A friend who is a local bring the researcher to a market to collect the conversation

Context of conversation: One seller sells a kind of mushroom in the market, we walk in and talk to them and buy some mushroom. A lot of people come to the market in the morning to buy foods.

- 1 Customer: the mushroom (0.03)
- 2 Seller: half a litre more to fill in. (0.05)
- 3 Customer: Yea...2 litres is enough (translating to a friend) (0.10)
- 4 * [.....]
- 5 Seller 1: Here is just half a litre, half a litre. (0.12)
- 6 Seller 2: Put all in here then. (0.13)
- 7 Seller 1: Want it?, buy a litre, charge you only 130. (0.15)
- 8 Customer: 130? (0.16)
- 9 Seller 1: Urr..these two, this one only half, and another half. (0.19)
- 10 Customer: This one, this one the younger one, that one that one. (0.23)
- 11 Seller 1: Urr..urr. all is young. (0.24)
- 12 Seller 2: The young has gone, only the old is left. (0.26)
- 13 Seller 1: There're a few olds. (0.27)
- 14 Both Customers: All young is taken only old left for us ☺. (0.32)
- 15 * The young is gone, only the old is left now. (0.34)
- ...

- 31 Customer 1: What about these, aren't these from our product? (1.22)
- 32 Seller: Yes, but they are from different mountain. (1.24)
- 33 Customer: Different mountain top, which one?
- 34 Customer: Oh... [AT,... can't catch what's said....]
- 35 Customer: These are under the tree.
- 36 * (.....)
- 37 Customer: Did you pick them yourself or bought from other? (1.39)
- 38 Seller: I bought from the other. (1.40)
- 39 * Buy one or two liters, they're the same. (1.42)
- 40 Customer: Where do you live sister? (1.44)
- 41 Seller: (.....)

In the market is filled with noises and people are talking. The sellers are friendly to the customers that both sellers and buyers are making joke among themselves and cross talking with laughter.

3.2 Conversation between Official and Official

Excerpt a: Social-Conversation between Official and Official

Officials are conversing in by using the central dialect; one is asking about planting the local pineapple and another official explain origin of the plant. The one who asks joins in to show that he is attentive and understand what is said.

Location: Chieng Rai

Person recording: This interview is recorded by the researcher.

Participants: 3 officials

Background: An official visit a TAO's office in Chieng Rai.

Context of conversation: Local officials explained about local lineage of the Bhu Lae pineapple to the visiting official.

M1: Visiting official

M2: local official

F: a female official

- 1 M1: Oh, is Nang Lae origin from the local?
- 2 F: Yes, it's from local. It was brought from Phuket and raise here and it's like
- 3 mutated.
- 4 M1: [interbreed?]
- 5 F: um* yes.
- 6 M1: Oh, they're mixing.
- 7 M2: Urr..we call crossbred but origin from Phuket.
- 8 F: The Phuket was planted here.
- 9 M2: Right we brought to raise here at Nang Lae with Nang Lae geography and
- 10 weather.
- 11 M1: Yes.
- 12 M2: The soil has high sugar acid so it mutates. But in fact from the research of the
- 13 agricultural officer, he said it was the recessive of the Phuket lineage•h but
- 14 when raised at Nang Lae, it became recessive and the taste is different from
- 15 Phuket's. We can control the quality (of the produce) so it became dominant
- 16 feature •h. Then, we have the lineage registered it geographical identity and
- 17 named it Bhu Lae pineapple•h. The dominant feature of the Phuket's lineage
- 18 was planted here but became recessive which giving sour pineapple.

19 M1: [Oh]
 20
 21 M2: Nang Lae is actually Pattawia (Smooth Cayenne) urr they're the same lineage
 22 but when the plant is grown here at Nang Lae where the geography is
 23 different from elsewhere.
 24 M1: Yes.
 25 M2: Which the soil has pretty high of sugar acid or
 26 M1: [making it sweet]
 27 M2: Yes, it's sweet. It might be that it's been changed..urr..what we call is change
 28 of the DNA in its genes resulting mutation and the taste is different from
 29 elsewhere •h. Pineapples sold in this area are the Pattawia but don't planted
 30 at Nang Lae some were grown at Mae Sai, Wiengchai, and other districts
 31 around the vicinity which that the taste is similar but it might not as tasty as
 32 growing at Nang Lae. Nang Lae pineapple usually ripens during May, now
 33 it's not the season.

Excerpt b: Social-Conversation between Official and Official

The Member of Parliament must ask for a permission to give an opinion from the house speaker; it is turn taking.

Meeting of the National Legislative Assembly

Location: House of Representatives

Participants: 3 members conversing

Background: The meeting was held in the house of parliament where's the government usually meets with appropriate sound and lighting systems in place.

Context of conversation: The section recorded was a discourse on the lotto issue which is perceived as gambling and discussing the consequences of the previous government decision.

M1: Speaker of Parliament M2, M5: members of the parliament M6: The PM

1 M1: ()

2 M2: ()

3 M6: ()

4 M2: ()↓7 days don't play•h↑but once a month maybe have to
5 gamble for 10 baht 20 baht•h. Chairperson and members, I had visited Las
6 Vegas, they had the gambling machines everywhere we walked. Eventually,
7 people have to play. Second, it's a start of on-line gambling and the like↓•h.
8 Football is the most topic people talked about.•h Third, the most important is
9 to adjust the way of earning of those disabilities•h who can make a living by
10 selling the lotto; they are poor.

11 M1: ()

12 M2: I've said the first issue•h next is second issue about the job and philosophy of
13 the Government Lotto•h. The Government Lotto announced that •h in the
14 quotation alright?. It's an international organisation modern transparent
15 efficient support social development sustainably•h I'd like to ask the chief a
16 permission to make a red underline the word support social development
17 sustainably•h The Government Lotto is a state enterprise which is different
18 from other state enterprise•h ↑ the more the money sent to the treasury ↑the
19 more the society is getting worse↓ Gambling is flourish•h meaning that the
20 vision is not a success indicator of the organisation of the government.....

21 M1: May the Prime Minister explain?

22 M5: Speaker of the Parliament, Senator, Members of parliament, May I have a
23 half time because there are people waiting•h First, to talk about the honorary
24 members, Buddhism issue I've been keeping track on; what we're doing
25 today it's not that this cabinet has done wrong. The cabinet has done nothing
26 wrong but what is wrong is the lotto itself•h The lotto was issued by out
27 doing its authorization; the previous cabinet who approved it. The permanent
28 secretary of justice has raised the lotto issue↓ that we immediately took a
29 look at. We were not hesitate to send out a letter to the national council of
30 state to have it construed for whether it was done right because there were
31 comments made to the draft of the laws that could be right or wrong...

Excerpt c: Social-Conversation between Official and Official
The Constitution Drafting Assembly

Original Language: Thai—central dialect

Location: House of Representatives

Date recorded: November 30th, 2006

Person recording: The meeting is recorded by one of the participants.

Participants: 4 officials

Background: Meeting of the members of parliament.

Context of conversation: Nomination of committee

F: Speaker of the Parliament M1: male member M2: another male member

M3: one of the members

- 1 F: Representatives, you may start now.
- 2 M2: Speaker of parliament •h I'm....., would like to nominate •h 6 names of our
3 members of national legislative who are qualified to be the study and follow
4 up extraordinary committee for the Suvannabhumi Airport issue •h. I don't
5 know whether we already have all full.
- 6 F: Right now, It's the 4th day Mr.M has nominated. I don't know if Mr.M has
7 any changes?
- 8 M2: Alright, would you please hear the names •h of the members I have here to
9 nominate.
- 10 M3: [Excuse me, Mam]
- 11 M3: • Excuse me for a moment, if there's a propsoe of... one problem is that the
12 non-members ↓ who'll be included ↑, right now 1/3 •h but •h our members
13 already counted 16 persons which including all names together. If members
14 nominate....meaning we wanted to make ↑ a change ↓. If it's necessary to
15 include more non-members we come to 24 names now. It's ↑ possible that
16 we can ↓ add in just a few more.
- 17
- 18 M6: Speaker of the parliament, •I very much love that in here there're people
19 want to work, U but according to article 80 clause 3 written •h that
20 nominating the extraordinary committees for any other activities; which
21 would need at least 1/3 of the committee. In a while the members, I
22 apologize that I have to name Mr.P, has already nominated the non-member

23 for 1/3 •h. However, members would like to work, adding more people so
24 may I suggest the speaker•h using number 60 to exempt rule 80 clause 3 •h.
25 That would need 10 persons to approve the exempt.
26 F: Alright, this case having persons certify correctly therefore we exempt that•h.
27 Regulation on article 80 clause 3 about non-member at least 1/3, okay.
28 However, this is one part, okay so it comes to 33 urr•h. Can I ask for vote,
29 shall we and Mr.P will
30 M3: •No **[Mam} need to vote, the rule is exempt, I'm happy that members are
31 interested to join us heh-heh-heh which is very good. It shouldn't be a vote
32 so •h welcome the members for offering to work. Number of people
33 extended to 30 or 33 is no problem.
34 F: Well ur 33 no objection? •h Secretariat please continue with the name list•h
35 Mr.S, you're ready? Mr.K, ready?, Mr.P you have it?

3.3 Social: Conversation between Official and Villager

Excerpt a: Social- Conversation between Official and Villager

Authorities visited villagers to see how they manage and support community public health. Several questions were asked to encourage the villagers and to involve them in the conversation. After several attempts getting the villagers to talk with the officials, an official decided to control the sequences of the conversation since after the villagers became acquainted with them, and they began to join in the dialogue.

Location: in a village, Nakorn Sawan Province

Background: The public health officials visited the villagers.

Context of the conversation: the officials interviewed and talked to the villagers' concerns of their health.

BH Benjamas's husband: CO 2

MO Male officer:

2nd Committee officer

B Benjamas:

TAO TAO representative:

CO 1 1st Committee officer

- 1 BH: For those who have time (☺ in the background), they provide public service.
- 2 All in the village are lovable to the community. They educate villagers well.
- 3 CO 1: Lovable, really?
- 4 B: Yes . All ☺.
- 5 CO 1: Who could confirm that is true?
- 6 MO: ☺☺☺ Who could confirm that? All would say so.
- 7 BH: Someone needs to say something.
- 8 MO: Um.m.. What is it? Who want to say something?
- 9 CO 1: Anyone who want to add something, please do so. This is the time.
- 10 CO 1: Please go ahead.
- 11 TAO: Please allow me to say on behalf of the TAO. We want to be part of this and
- 12 would like to take part in allocating some budget to support the project. Here,
- 13 we are to encourage them.
- 14 CO 1: What does TAO do to support them? Do they co-ordinate with TAO? Or,
- 15 they stay put, but TAO run into them? ☺☺
- 16 MO: Any request?.....

Excerpt b: Social- Conversation between Official and Villager

Original Language: Thai—Northern dialect

Location: Rice Mill at Chiengrai

Date recorded: February 15, 2008

Person recording: The researcher recorded the conversation between a farmer and 2 officials who visit the farmer at the rice mill.

Participants: 4 participants: a farmer, 2 officials, and the researcher

Background: Outdoor of the rice mill while the machine running in background

Context of conversation: an official acquaints himself with a farmer and visit him at the rice mill to talk about things in general and about his career.

14 P: How long have you got the new car↑? 1.15

15 P: Hi..little one! 1.17 The weather is quite chilly. 1.19

16 Don: It's quite cold 1.20

17 P: Haven't seen you quite some time↓. 1.23

18 P: What are you planting..what the plant here?

19 Don: •()

20 P: Do you plant something here...what's the plant? 1.27

21 P: Do you grow pineapple?↑ 1.29 Do you grow pineapple?↑ 1.31

22 Don: () No, not for now. I don't grow that for now. 1.33

23 P: Yeah?..just working on the rice mill? 1.37

24 P: What about raising the pigs and fish? 1.39

Villager and official are acquainted and both speak the local tongue. The flow of the conversation changes from topic to topic. The official is so excited to meet the villager again since they had not met for some time and he asks many questions.

60 P: Do farmers have fish farm? or agro forestry...he studied agriculture..has

61 agriculture degree. 03.13

62 Don: [...]

63 M: Ohh..I see. 03.19

64 P: Where did you go to school () Mae Jo Class 7th right?..Is it a campus of

65 the Mae Jo University or?(...) 03.25

66 Don: [Yes]

- 67 Don: Yes, it's a campus of Mae Jo.
 68 P: It's with Mae Jo but call Chiengrai Agriculture, right? 03.29
 69 P: You can apply your knowledge directly to your career. 03.32
 70 P: Do raise many milk cows? 03.35

Even when the official tries to impress another official that the villager- his friend is specialist in the agriculture and involve the villager in the conversation, he still dominates the conversation. He poses questions that the village does not need them to answer.

Excerpt c: Social- Conversation between Official and Villager

Original Language: Thai—Central dialect

Location: Multipurpose hall, Mae Wong district, Nakon Swan province

Background: Chief district called a meeting including the headmen and villagers.

Context of conversation: The meeting is called to inform villagers and provide updates, as well as news. Question and answers are allowed.

- 1 H: People who came to use their rights, in the end, what terrible is our village
 2 which oh! So rare that people used their rights to vote. Didn't matter how
 3 many campaigns were done or the announcement made, people didn't come
 4 to vote Oh! What do we do. When the headman attended a meeting at the
 5 district I didn't know where to put my face away, I explained that I did the
 6 PRs but didn't know what to do when the villagers didn't show up. I couldn't
 7 drag them out●h . And about●h about●h headman and the district headman
 8 golden claps award which we nominated the headman Mr.Prasak but he
 9 wasn't awarded only received 3,000 baht.
- 11 F: The road to my house is dark, I want a light.
- 12 H: The light to your house okay. We had brought this to the TAO and said that it
 13 was approved but they need to survey where to install the light.
- 14 F: It's real dark.
- 15 H: Yes, the was approved (we) already asked for that and they promised to take
 16 care of it●h The light is ready only the installation.
- 17 F3: Giving us the electricity ()
- 18 H: ()
- 19 F3: ()

- 20 CT: two female villagers are talking between them
- 21 F2: ()
- 22 F1: The road is real dark
- 23 F2: Light on hanger?
- 24 F1: huh?
- 25 F2: Light on hanger.
- 26 F1: Light on the post
- 27 F2: That's called light on hanger 😊😊😊

A village headman complains that her villagers did not use their rights to vote and it was very embarrassing for her that their village ranked bottom in terms of for the number of people who came out to vote. The rest of the conversation is to inform villagers and provide updates, as well as news. Villagers are encouraged to ask questions. A villager asks to have a light installed on the road to her home, while other villagers talk among themselves.

Excerpt d: Social- Conversation between Official and Villager

Original Language: Thai—Central dialect by the official northern dialect by the villagers

Location: in a community resides in a municipality at Chiang Mai

Date recorded: February 16, 2008

Person recording: The researcher recorded the conversation between an official and villagers.

Participants: 4 participants: a farmer, 2 officials, and the researcher

Background: Outdoor in a municipal residential area.

Context of conversation: an official visits in casual the villagers in a town municipality.

V: This is head of the Fund, sir.

O and M: Oh, Hello

V: He's head of what? Community voluntary police.

O: Volunteer?

V: Community voluntary police.

O: Umm.

V: Are you here for an interview?

O: No huh-huh just visit, just want to see how you are. Do you often have village fund meeting?

V1: The village fund, mind meeting on every 15th monthly.

O: Every 15th.

V1: In Khwang level (sub-municipality) meets on every 28th.

O: In what level?

V1: Khwang level.

O: Khwang? The meeting has its round.

V1: Every community will have a meeting, every Khwang.

V: In a municipality has 4 Khwangs.

O: Yes.

V: Like in Bangkok call it Khet (administrative district) right?

O: Oh yes yes.

.....

O: Ae Where's the flower market? Is it in?...

V: [Khwang Nakon Bhing]

O: Khwang nakon Bhing.

V: Meaning Warorot, is it?

O: Flower market.

V: Flower market?

O: There're a lot of flower I just passed by.

V: Ton Lam Yai market?, Nam Bhing, right?

O: Nam Bhing Ah! where there a lot of flowers.

V: (0.02) Where the municipal is, it's in Khwang Nakon Bhin

Villagers speak in their local tongue while the official speaks the central dialect. But, they understand one another very well. Villagers accommodate the official and try to keep that person company. Another villager is introduced and joins the conversation. The official also shows his inters in the villagers' activities and ask them about the vicinity.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and Discussion

In chapter 5 is the presentation of findings which presented in two parts: first is to demonstrate the findings from the interviews of the officials and the villagers while the second part illustrate the transcripts showing the patterns of the discourse between the respondents. Thus, in table 6.1 will reveal the findings from the interviews; however, in the context of the 9th National Economic and Society Development is to gain participation from the villagers therefore the message from the nation plan need communication. Jian, Schmisser, and Fairhurst (2008) believe that when organisational actors are in communication, key process issues are in play such as co-creation, connection, uniqueness and emergence. Thus, the organisational actors must always operate in communication and through discourse. As a result, in figure 6.2 and 6.3 displayed communication paradigms and communication-in practice communication process are to explain and illustrate the officials and villagers have different ways to communicate and to understand messages.

6.1 Conclusion

This chapter highlights the conclusions that provide a foundation for the development of the discussion that follows.

Thailand is a country struggling to make its place in the world economy (Icon Group, 2000). Related scholarly interest focuses on the contrast between the Western culture of global business and Thai culture, which is embedded in traditional Buddhist values (Niffenegger, Kulviwat et al., 2006). The urban Thai population present a challenge to Thai values in that their striving for material goods is in direct contrast to the fundamental Thai cultural value of self-reliance and giving to others (Niffenegger, Kulviwat et al., 2006, p. 412). Though this is not the focus of this thesis, it does provide a succinct background to the research question.

In 1998 the Rama IX king (King Bhumibol Adulyadei Maharaj) (NESDB, 2001) challenged the country to become a self-sufficient economy ...self reliance as embodied in the slogan 'produce enough to live on while preserving the integrity of

the environment' which is the universal life support system for sustainable living (Niffenegger, Kulviwat et al., 2000, p. 412). Chapter 1 introduced the Ninth National Economic and Social Development Plan (NESD). Chapter 2 presented excerpts from the Tenth NESD that are relevant to this study. The King's call to use Thailand's human and natural resources through a return to basic Buddhist principles makes particular sense when one considers that the rural population, engaged mainly in agriculture, accounts for about half of Thailand's labour force of 36.4 million (Business Monitor International, 2008). Migration from the countryside to cities represents both an economic and a cultural threat to the stability of Thai society.

In Chapter 2 the point was made that

The Thai government was committed to empower village communities to build a strong foundation for rural society. To achieve this they were committed to a programme in which government officers would regularly visit villages to seek their co-operation... Language assumes a particular importance in Thai society where oral communication is preferred. The study of the discourse which takes place between government officials and villagers is the central focus of this study.

It is believed that the success of the King's call for a rural sufficiency economy will depend, in part, on the successful implementation of the policy underlying the National Economic and Social Development plans. Successful communication is essential for the practical implementation of policy and gave rise to the following research question:

What are the communication practices of Thai government officials and villagers?

The findings of this research were set out in Chapter 5. The following summary table compares the findings of the communication practice involving villagers and officials.

Table 6.1 Villager – Official Findings Compared.

Villager	Official
Questions 1: How is the meeting patterns usually organised and conducted; formal or informal?	
<p>Meeting patterns the villagers reported include the following types: formal, informal, and semi-informal. Meeting patterns are categorized by the setting of the meeting, the pre-set agendas, the meeting conducted by way of the agendas, the language spoken in the meeting, and the friendliness of meeting (as can be referred to as the atmosphere).</p> <p>Formal meeting has everything prepared and it flowed as per an agenda, while an informal meeting has a friendlier atmosphere, in terms of language. Also, and the agenda could be discussed but is not in an orderly sequence. The semi-informal meeting has informal conversation but the meeting setting could be formal and the meeting is run by away of an agenda.</p> <p>In the local meetings, villagers are encouraged to participate, to give ideas, or to ask questions.</p> <p>Villagers implied that the officials gave them orders to follow, and rushed them to wrap up a project or activity so that the officials can report to their superiors.</p> <p>Villager meetings usually had no document given out as to any issue; they only had to discuss it. The content discussed in the meeting, most of the time, was about the spending on infrastructure, as well as and an update of news relevant to the locals.</p>	<p>The common purpose of the official's meeting was to pass on information from layer to layer, as per the chain of command. Provincial officials passed on information to districts and the districts then handed it over to villages.</p> <p>Meetings were organised and conducted using similar patterns and processes to that of most official levels. Official meetings were organised in line with three types, being formal, informal and semi-formal. Meeting were run by way of an agenda, and the officials conversed in a formal manner. The meeting might be organised in a formal setting but the discussion seems to be informal. In other words, participants felt at ease during such discussions. Officials also spent some time discussing, in person, with the villagers when they were out in the field or when they joined community activities. Among the officials, some provinces realized the importance of utilizing an informal environment so that the officials could talk to each other easily, such as would occur at a morning coffee break.</p> <p>Time frame: The officials realized that the time they spent with the villagers was limited; however, the capabilities of villagers in relation to learning varied from one area to another.</p>

Questions 2: How often are meetings called?	
Villager	Official
<p>Monthly schedules were set for meetings in most villages. However, more meetings could be called if necessary. Meeting times were set and based on when the majority of villagers were free from work or household chores. The venue for the meeting could be any convenient places, such as a temple, multi-purpose hall, if the village had one, or the headman's home.</p>	<p>Most meetings were scheduled monthly for routine jobs so as to help the officials to keep up-to-date. Besides a regular meeting schedule, extra meetings could be called, with this depending upon necessity or urgency.</p> <p>The place of a meeting would depend on the villagers' convenience such as after their routines or household chores were taken into account, and this varied from place to place. In some areas where there were Muslims, an appropriate time was after they finished praying.</p> <p>A local meeting could use a temple, a village meeting hall, or the home of a local leader.</p>
Questions 3: What pattern of communication is applied?	
Villager	Official
<p>Meeting participants were informed in one, or more ways with these being: announcement through a broadcasting tower, word of mouth between the villagers, a letter to inform a key person, and leaders informing villagers in person.</p>	<p>Top down communication: Most of the time the communication of the officials was to give orders from top management to the sub-units. The head office communicated downward to province, and the province transferred orders to the districts. The district became a centre of information that was received from the upper level before passing it on the lower level, and it also gathered information from local level, which could then be passed on to upper levels of government.</p> <p>Communication between official: Besides a document passing to officials, personal contact was used and the importance of this was realized. When messages were passed</p>

	<p>from the district to local leaders, this involved sub-district headmen and village headmen. Most of the time, the local leaders choose to disseminate news, and inform people as go any meeting schedule, usually doing so by way of the village broadcasting tower.</p> <p>Community networks facilitated information flows that officials could utilise. Several channels of communication were chosen to pass on information to the villagers since one channel of information might not reach all target groups.</p> <p>Mass media; television and radio: All forms of mass media played an important role in keeping locals up-to-date, and also made it easy for officials to provide villagers with further details.</p> <p>The main purpose of any meeting among the officials was for them to be informed and responsive to any policy. Then, the officials passed on the decision from their meetings to the villagers.</p>
<p>Questions 4: What language (or dialect) is spoken in the meeting; is official language or terms spoken?</p>	
<p>The central dialect was understood by the villagers. The officials sometimes spoke both the local dialect and central dialect interchangeably to gain trust and promote a friendly meeting atmosphere.</p>	<p>The central dialect, usually, was spoken between officials, and when officials are with villagers that understand it. But, officials might speak by using a local dialect, with this dependent on the content of the conversation.</p> <p>Simple terms were understood easier and the giving of simple examples about things to which villagers could relate would make it</p>

	clear for villagers. Technical terms, or unfamiliar academic terms, were spoken sometimes and were not understood by the villagers or even by local officials.
Questions 5: How is information rechecked or monitored for mutual understanding?	
Villager	Official
Villagers usually do not ask questions or express their ideas in a meeting. They also did not report officials when they make a mistake , doing so to avoid causing hard feelings between them, especially since causing someone to lose face is impolite.	<p>The administration system assigned some government units to cross-monitor budget spending and to conduct a review of rules and regulations. There were five practices reported to find out whether assignments were understood correctly:</p> <p>Outcome to policy The officials could compare the project objectives to the project outcome as to whether the project was implemented successfully. How budget spending followed the rules and regulations was another way.</p> <p>Call meeting Monitoring the understanding of officials could be done by calling a meeting so that the official could report back on how they understood the assignment to be.</p> <p>Official visit The officials learned whether villagers understood what was transferred to the local areas, doing so by visiting the field.</p> <p>Feedback could be sought from local officials who are working closely with the villagers.</p> <p>Report writing was a common practice for government officials to report to their supervisors, which was one of the ways that the boss could monitor procedures and outcomes.</p> <p>Some reports were made that more villagers</p>

	<p>were active. But many villagers and also the local leaders, in general, did not show interest in giving forth their opinions.</p>
<p>Questions 6: How good is the co-operation between officials and villagers?</p>	
Villager	Official
<p>Most villagers were cooperative in relation to community activities and the officials. However, there were some villagers who were not interested in the activities, and some were too busy making a living. It was reported that the local leader himself had an influential role in recruiting people to join the activities.</p> <p>The government officials who supported the villagers were recognized in terms of what was provided, such as funds, a local product exhibition, any career training, or consulting.</p>	<p>Nowadays, the administrative system was designed to enforce the cross-functional work, The administrative officials used projects as a tool to develop villages and to include grassroots support. The officials were satisfied with the cooperation of the locals, with the coaching and counselling role of the officials being used to support group decision making. The time frame or deadline of any project was one of the barriers that an official had in relation to the successful completion of development work. Another problem was that the sense of responsibility in supporting the local development did vary and could be low.</p>
<p>Questions 7: Do the officials have opportunities to work or perform some activities autonomously?</p>	
Villager	Official
<p>Initially, the villagers solved problems in their own particular way. If a problem seemed beyond their ability to solve, they would go to local leaders; such as the headman or the TAO members, or whoever they believe can help them out.</p>	<p>Since government projects were implemented at the grassroots level, villagers had started to discuss and manage community development among themselves. The officials were authorized to manage, and give solutions to, the villagers within their authority.</p>

Questions 8: What are those worries or concerns that you have in your working environment or society?	
Villager	Official
<p>The economy was of particular concern to ,most villagers. Education was understood to be an important factor of development for both the villagers and local leaders. Villagers noticed that the officials did not communicate between themselves and this causes them confusion when they wanted villagers to join them in a project. The villagers felt that officials did not take them seriously when helping them with any development. The officials did not spend enough time in the development process and the villagers needed time to think about it, and to discuss it in order to arrive at a collective agreement. Some local leaders tended to look after their relatives instead of acting for the benefit of the whole village. But, ‘blowing the whistle’ was unlikely, especially as the villagers believe that nothing could be done by doing so.</p>	<p>The head office still held most decision making power while most implementation was carried out at the district level. Yet, some decision making was decentralised and delegated to the villagers’ representatives and to political officials; in order to serve the needs of the villagers as responsively as possible. Still, generally, the local government official at the district and the village levels had their power curtailed.</p> <p>The CEO Governor was made to believe that they had more authority. But, in practice, his authority could not control several government functions because such government units in the province reported directly to central head office functions of that were afraid of losing its authority.</p> <p>Small budgets were allocated to the province and district level of government because most budgeted funds are transferred to the local political representatives, such as the TAOs.</p> <p>Villagers in different areas were observed to express a variety of behavioural characteristics in terms of culture and lifestyle, including their interest in being a part of any community development. Many villagers were under educated; therefore, their self-expression in public was rare. Officials did give opinions about other</p>

	<p>officials. In this regard, three ideas were reported: first, some officials became influential and put pressure on any voting, as well as other decision making processes of villagers; second, government policy was focussed on commercial outcomes and it neglected agriculture. Also, people had become materialistic, which affected social values; third, government projects provided villagers with less benefit than should be the case; fourth, some officials, especially senior officials, needed higher education in order to cope with the dynamics of society. Opinions of government officials in relation to the TAO members, being the political officials at the local level, were perceived as being quite negative. Particularly, they were seen as taking advantage of villagers instead of standing up for more villager benefits.</p> <p>The overall expectation of any government project was that it was intended to encourage the grassroots level to become a part of community management and, generally, this seemed to be achieved across the country. The criticism about government projects was that these only offered a short-term solution for the villagers. More cross-functional work and cooperation between local leaders and the TAOs was advised so as to avoid unnecessary meetings. Still, there was a discrepancy in the rules and regulations and this had to be rectified in order to align them with optimal practices.</p>
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6.2 Discussion of Findings

There was little evidence that the conventional barriers to communication – such as language, comprehension, and culture – played a major part. Indeed, there was fluid communication on both sides, and this seemed to flow through the usual channels; particularly top-down where orders were given to the local officials and when the officials cascaded information to the village headmen. This study revealed that this was still inhibiting participation by villagers. It was surfaced that one reason was that the villagers themselves did not want to speak and this was normal in this culture. Another reason was that the villagers were not confident enough to express their opinions in any meeting.

This is an important finding as it shows latent collusion in perpetuating each homogeneous communication system: in other words, in every instance, it was clear that communication between the two groups takes place within Thai culture, whereby those who were (or felt themselves to be) inferior respected those persons who were superior. Therefore, there was no asking of questions. In effect, the so-called inferior folk simply waited for orders. Also, they would comply according to orders of the villagers and the official. In turn, this preserves the official–villager relationship. In no instance did communication, and related dimensions, show substantial friction between the two groups, although as it has been noted, that some misunderstanding took place occasionally.

Implementation of the 9th NESD has forced changes in the roles of villagers and officials as well as of the administration system:

- 1) The plan focused on the villagers' involvement and encourages them to be a part of their community development instead of persisting with the old way whereby the officials led and made decisions about development for all villages often through promoting the same solution.
- 2) Decentralising to local administration so that the villagers could vote for their representative thereby expecting to influence more participation and community development from the grassroots level.

- 3) Permanent officials were to change their role from one of decision maker to that of coach so as to encourage villagers to participate in any form of development, and as a consequence, budget allocation was transferred to the local administration.

The study showed that both officials and villagers were actively undergoing the transformation of their roles in facilitating grassroots development. In the past, the officials gave orders to the locals, and the locals were passive listeners. Nowadays, the officials are expected to be coaches and instead of just giving orders, they encourage and expected villages to become active listeners. This meant that villagers rather than ask questions only when they did not understand and needed clarification but were active listeners and thus be in the position to better propose their ideas.

Culture of Thais: Respect for the Superior

Thais have been taught to respect adults or superiors. Therefore, listening quietly has become an acceptable manner for Thais. Rubin (1974) described this as being a consequence of Thais having an extremely high fear of failure and an associated sense of personal insecurity. This sense of weakness can be overcome only through reliance upon a superior who can protect and guide Thais in the correct way. The superior is viewed, thereby, as a moral exemplar—an individual who will guide and aid them. Proper deference to higher status individuals was preserved at meetings, as was discovered in the analysis of this research.

Familiar with giving orders and having deadlines

Officials have in recent times undergone a change of role that now has a coaching and guiding focus aimed community development. Officials were familiar with their traditional role of giving orders Determining the projects, and setting deadlines while the villagers, on the other hand required time to understand the related issues and discuss these among themselves. With this sort of interaction the officials and villagers found it difficult to meet the goal as there was little meaningful grassroots participation. The communication was unclear and it was not uncommon for officials to say that they had finished their project; while the villagers were left unclear about what they had done. This negatively affected the process of development.

With respect to the authority for the delegating funds the officials indicated that decentralisation was not completely allowed, in terms of delegating responsibilities and funds to the local administration level since most decisions were made in the central government office that resided in Bangkok. The provincial officials also indicated that some officials might work at the provincial office, but they reported to the central office, and this was an important dimension as it caused incongruence between members, even of the same team. There were discrepancies in relation to rules and practice, and these needed to be rectified. These discrepancies caused difficulties as there were uncertainties with respect to the local administration not being clear as to who had the authority to make the necessary decisions. This led to hesitation and that contributed towards particular partitions with information not passing smoothly from one department to another. Authority should be granted to the local authorities as well as line of control and report should be cleared therefore the officials know who they forward their tasks to.

Education is a concern.

Villagers and local leaders were reluctant to speak up in public about their opinions because they felt inferior through the fact that they felt that they did not have enough education and hence their opinions might not be good enough.

The impact of having little education was that the villagers often left themselves open to being deceived and taken advantage of by unscrupulous local leaders. Influential people could also convince villagers to misunderstand the officials or any public policy while at the same time

Some local leaders, new to the role, who had limited knowledge about important rights, laws, and regulations sometimes, felt threatened by the permanently-placed officials since these people were well-acquainted with all forms of the public sector administration.

As noted, the TAO Act allowed villagers to elect political representatives, while the village headman is employed by the government. This study found that the TAO representatives had limited knowledge of laws and regulations, and that this hindered their effectiveness, particularly as villagers were familiar with centralisation and the

process of receiving orders from officials located elsewhere. In effect, the areas of knowledge and information not known by TAO representatives formed obvious blind spots and, as a direct consequence, these people were easily deceived by others who were more influential and self focused and motivated . Also, such representatives would lose any opportunity to be a part of any community development. TAO representatives fail because they are unable to represent the needs of the villagers

This study found that some locals were beginning to ask questions, and also offer ideas at meetings. Even though this is taking some time and is a slow process, villagers seem to be excited with development projects, hoping that such would make their lives better. This study observed that, villagers were now starting to converse among themselves about these projects, and even asked questions of superiors or officials. This was very much in line with what Calabrese (2004) says, in that the individuals, who are part of the structure, simultaneously, are both forced to adapt to it and, also, are stimulated to change it. That, in Thailand, is a very positive step.

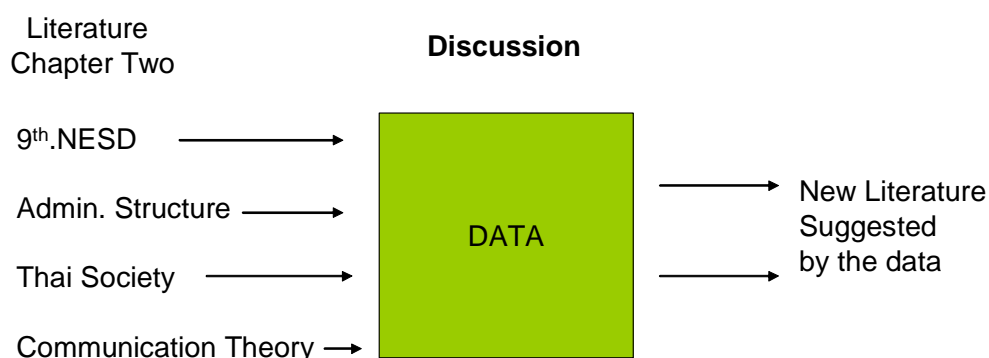
The study undertaken herein found that education is very relevant in relation to the villagers' level of confidence, such as in speaking about their ideas in public. Such grassroots action, however, is in a transition phase of any anticipated change in the development of confidence of villagers, with this improvement now being evident, even though Thai culture does not encourage the questioning of superiors. It is inferred from this study that added and higher education should be one of the instruments for villagers and officials in making one another understand the purpose of development, and to minimise the impact of influential people who do take advantage of the communication gap that exists in Thai culture.

6.3 Discussion of the Research

In keeping with the practices of qualitative research, and Grounded Theory in particular, the discussion that follows is guided by theoretical sensitivity (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In Chapter 2, a literature review provided the theoretical grounding for the research design and fieldwork. It followed the strictures of Grounded Theory in that models were not sought within which emergent data might be fitted (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The following discussion will refer to the afore-stated literature with

the findings to show whether it supports or differs from what the study had found. The discussion is then supported by a further literature search that is focussed on the findings that has not, hitherto, been considered in order to seek plausible theory or explanation. This process is modelled in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 The Research Discussion Process



During field work and analysis undertaken, the search continued for scholarly publications capable of contributing towards a deeper understanding of the research question. In 2007, the Thai Chamber of Commerce published (in Thai and English) 100 interviews with leading Thai business professionals on their experiences of incorporating the Sufficiency Economy Philosophy into their business conduct (Pavarolarvidya, 2007). Twelve of these interviews involved the agricultural sector and it is quite clear that the concept of a ‘Sufficiency Economy’ is interpreted in a wide variety of ways by the contributors. Below are the extracts relevant to this study:

His Majesty the King tries to find several appropriate alternatives to improve the farmer’s livelihood and quality of life. More importantly, these poor farmers who form the backbone of the country must be able to earn a reasonable income and be self- reliant (Mrs. Vilai Kiatsrichart, Pan Asia (1981) Co Ltd. in Pavarolarvidya, 2007 p79)

The next quotation clearly interprets the ‘Sufficiency Economy’ in terms of agribusiness and is the only reference to the sector of Thai society that was studied.

Our company helps to set up many farmers groups all over the regions of the country in order to promote cultivation and increase yields... we teach our farmers the farming techniques so that their products meet the standards required and are safe for consumption (Ms. Paphavee Suthavivat, Swift and Co in Pavarolarvidya, 2007, p.75).

It was even more surprising to find the ‘Sufficiency Economy’ Philosophy described as an innovative economic philosophy which seems to rule out, or play down, the social development that is advocated in the NESD plans. (Khunying Natthika Wattanavekin Angubolkul, Eastern Sugar and Cane Company, in Pavarolarvidya, 2007, p.69).

6.3.1 The Contribution of Western Theory

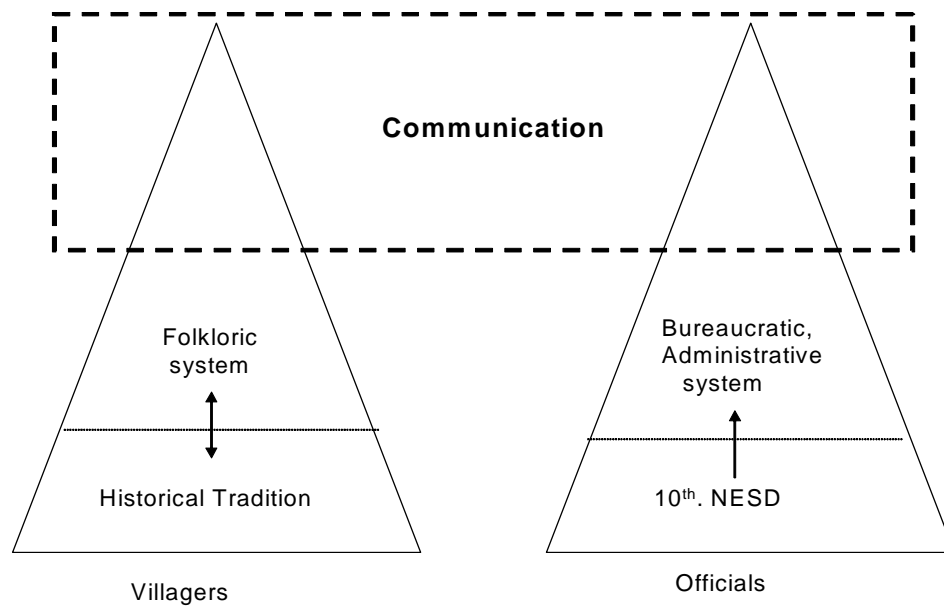
The findings of this research leave us with a dilemma. Particularly, the NESD plans advocate a theoretical philosophy, the ‘Sufficiency Economy’, and government policy advocates a ‘new’ approach to foster and cement cooperation between officials and villagers. But, at the same time, the research shows that the embedded nature of Thai culture locks interpersonal communication into a historic pattern. To resolve the impasse that will clearly slow the development of independence among villagers, it is necessary to understand more deeply Thai cultural interpretations. The following section introduces Western Theory into the discussion.

The strength of using aspects of Grounded Theory in this research process (Glaser and Strauss 1967) is that it allowed the understanding of the two ‘cultures’ (being that of the officials and villagers) to emerge. The findings show that communication between the two groups falls into particular patterns and that they do differ. Each group has its own derivatives and this affects resultant communication patterns. Particularly, officials derive communication methods and patterns from administrative and bureaucratic sources, while villagers derive communication methods and patterns from their historical and traditional sources with which impact strongly in the way they interact. This means that that the discourse of the villagers usually involves interaction between the interlocutors and the topic, and that there could be more than one discussion going on at a particular point in time.

In the previous section has showed that people interpret and make understanding about “Sufficiency Economy” in wide variety of ways. This could be explained under the Symbolic Interactionism that meaning is *constructed* by individual thought in the process of social interaction, and language gives humans an ability of negotiating meaning through symbols (Blumer, 1969, p.180). As learnt that Thai culture is hierarchical and has adopted the superior-inferior culture which reflected in this study on the way they discourse among and between groups are different. Each group lives in its own epidemic culture (Knorr-Cretina, 1999); the villagers and the officials. For the officials, they practice their everyday life following the guidelines as the laws or regulations and as well as the order from the superior who provide the performance evaluation. On the other hand, the villagers continue their everyday life struggle for a living; having enough income to feed the family, being able to pay debts and so on.

The 9th NESD plan proposes the “Sufficiency Economy” and encourages Thais to apply sufficiency economy concepts in their way of life at the individual, family, and community level. And the expecting result would be on the holistic balance of human resources, as well as that of the economy, and Thai natural resources, doing so by involving people at all level in society. G. H. Mead (1863-1931), founder of the symbolic interactionist, believes that society is possible because individuals act together and cooperate; however, this cooperation is only possible because each person has the ability to mentally place themselves in the position of others. Mead’s answer was gained through language, being a system of symbols through which shared meanings, expectations and understanding can be created. As the explained by Mead, the officials need to understand how to discourse with the villagers realising their context which influence their action or reaction upon the government policies or projects since villagers have different worldview and needs comparing to the officials’. The pattern of discourse of the officials and the villagers is explained and evidenced as the following sections.

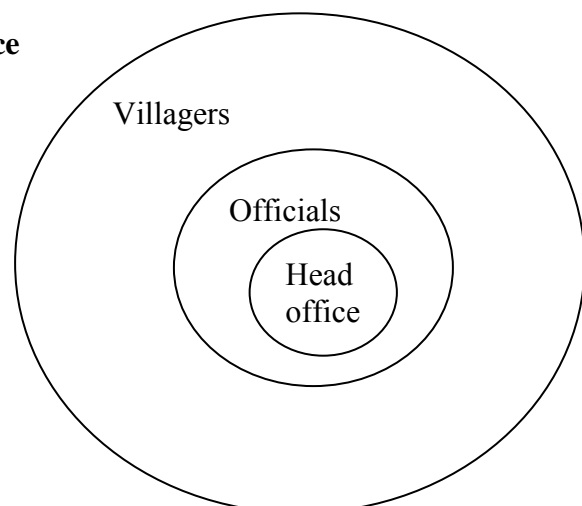
Figure 6.2 Villagers and officials – a comparison of communication paradigms.



The figure above shows that role preservation stands in the way of grass roots development. Particularly, communication in both cases has different influences, as depicted by the different bases in figure 6.2, and that these do not overlap.

In Figure 6.3 below a graphic interpretation of this finding is offered. The figure explains communication-in-practice and suggests that meaning is produced in a two-step communication process. Namely formal meetings are supplemented by informal/socially oriented gatherings. Consider, here, the position of the two groups; the respective positioning of these groups to the centre of power, as is held by head office officials in Bangkok offices of the various departments involved with social and economic development, may act to perpetuate this situation, with officials at the centre, and villagers at the margin.

Figure 6.3 Communication-in-practice



6.3.2 Communitarian Grassroots Development (CGRD)

The 9th NESD plan underlined villagers' participation to be an important part of the national development and was known as grassroots development. Stevens and Morris (2001, p149) asserted that CGRD leads to sustainable development (CGRD) leads to sustainable development [owing to] its inclusion of communitarian assumptions into grassroots development.

Grassroots development (GRD) commenced in the 1970s, both as a theoretical approach, and as a practical project approach by way of involving local people around the world in working to improve their often marginalised situation by managing their own economic affairs. Stevens and Morris (2001) argue that what is lost in this model (of GRD), which emphasizes economics, is traditional community-driven ways of functioning where community (people and their quality of life) is the focus, and not simply economic growth (Stevens and Morris, 2001, p.150). They advocate communitarianism, which is the effort to strike a new counterpoise between the often dissonant values of individualism and community. The attempt to reduce the negative cultural forces of extreme individualism and consumerism is a problem for GRD in societies influenced by Western values; but, it is not a fundamental problem in rural Thailand. Indeed, Communitarian GRD would seem to provide a pragmatic philosophy for the NESDs vision of a rural 'Sufficiency Economy'. Both stress the balance and enhancement of three features – being society, environment and the economy. As Stevens and Morris assert CGRD maintains and enhances the social structure, economic health, and environment, the whole system, by those involved (Stevens and Morris, 2001, p.151).

Reflecting upon our core findings, which is reflected in Figure 6.2, there is a distinct barrier to any optimal level of participation in communication on the part of villagers and the dominant role that is played by the officials. However, headmen are in a position of power as Stevens and Morris (2001) remind us, in that there are three kinds of empowerment:

- psychological power, which manifests itself in self-confident behaviour, thus the necessity for more education of villagers;

- social power, which allows access to status, know-how and finance, as constitutes the power of the headman; and,
- political power, which refers to control over decisions affecting the community. Potentially, the TAO representatives have this power.

In reviewing the data, grassroots development was not mentioned in conversations or interviews. The central government advocates the decentralisation of responsibility for the management of funds and projects to local officials and villagers. But, as the findings indicate, this is happening slowly and the process appears far from successful. Local officials had a great deal to say about this problem, particularly as the budget allocation decisions are still made by the centrally-located authorities in head office, and as a result, this causes budget shortages at the local level.

6.3.3 Transition of Pass

Klausner (1998) argues that the Buddhist culture of Thailand is compatible with economic growth and development, as long as it has socially healthy outcomes. He argues that Buddhist beliefs are not in opposition to Western capitalism and new technology, providing that these encompass the merging of spiritual and material development and promote the alleviation of poverty, sickness and injustice. This view underlies the NESD plans. Klausner (1998) also supports his view with the example of monks of Northern Thailand who teach local farmers to believe in self-sufficiency, moderation and frugality, while influencing their behaviour in favour of mutual help and co-operation. An essential part of this package is for the technology to be economically viable.

Klausner (1998) agreed that western capitalism and Buddhist beliefs are not in opposition. However, as per the objectives underlined in the NESD plan we find, from this research, that there appears to be no practical plan that is followed by officials to implement this ideal, and we repeat that our major finding is the inability of officials and villagers to communicate at more than a superficial level. Also as stated earlier, this is directly related to the historic and cultural dimensions already discussed.

Clearly, Thailand is undergoing rapid and radical change. The emphasis in the debate on change, which rages in the press, in government circles and among educated members of the population, is always on economic and social aspects of change and, in particular, on the politics that leads to decision making. There is an overriding assumption that if the government can make correct decisions, and if they embody this in legislation, then problems can be solved.

This study focussed on one very important, aspect of the implementation of social policy. It focussed on an in-depth study of the communication practices of the Thai government among and between officials and villagers. It was found that it is a great mistake to assume that while communication takes place extensively, the nature of

this communication is what is needed to initiate and pursue a healthy policy of change in the villages.

This study suggests that communication between officials and villagers appears fluent, especially if the discourse flows within the embedded conventions of Thai society. An important dimension that surfaced in this study clearly indicates that it is essential that a deeper understanding of the discourse process occurring in the villages need to be achieved if the social development ideals of the NESD plans are to be implemented. The study indicated that better-educated villagers were starting to have their say; but, currently, both social and political power resides with the headman and therefore the villagers become the underdog. Another challenge for the implementation of the CGRD very much depends upon a move from the position of individual empowerment to that of empowerment of the entire community (Stevens and Morris, 2001, p. 154).

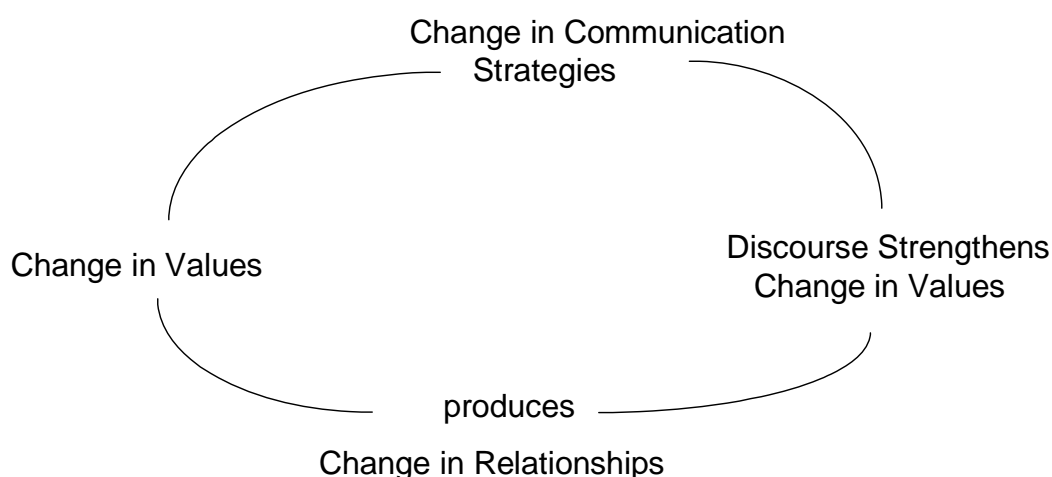
A key issue is that the government should realise the important role that is played by middle level official in the regional and locals offices. Clearly, district officers are middle-management officials, who have a key role in introducing changes and easing people's problems. Middle management also serves as a key mechanism to improve the service quality of an organisation and in order to perform their role, middle level officials need a clear explanation of the philosophy and guidelines that are necessary for them to deal with problems, and assist them to work in harmony with government policy.

In rural areas across Thailand, local leaders and villagers' representatives (TAO members) who work closely with the villagers and communicate easily with the villagers could be used to advantage. Essentially, the government should utilise this particular channel to communicate public policies to encourage the involvement of villagers who could help facilitate the management of their own communities. The transformation of this idea, that is, to involve and encourage the villagers to become a fundamental part of the development process, would take some time; as there is a need to change the current situation of passive listening to one of active listening and this will prove to be a challenging task. Officials should also re-position themselves from that of an actor in the public policy process to being much more of a supporter or a coach to grassroots villagers. It is important to note that officials should realize

that villagers will talk only to officials with whom they are familiar and can feel comfortable with. In this regard, it stands to reason that officials would do well to visit villager in person so as to build a valuable rapport with them.

This study concludes with two models that are designed to emphasise the communication dynamics between officials and villagers in Thailand. Figure 6.4 as shown below, shows that the changes in values advocated by the NESD plans are interlinked with communication strategies in the field. In other words for values to change over time communication strategies pertaining to the official-villager interface are essential because values and communication are mutually reinforcing.

Figure 6.4 The Discourse Cycle



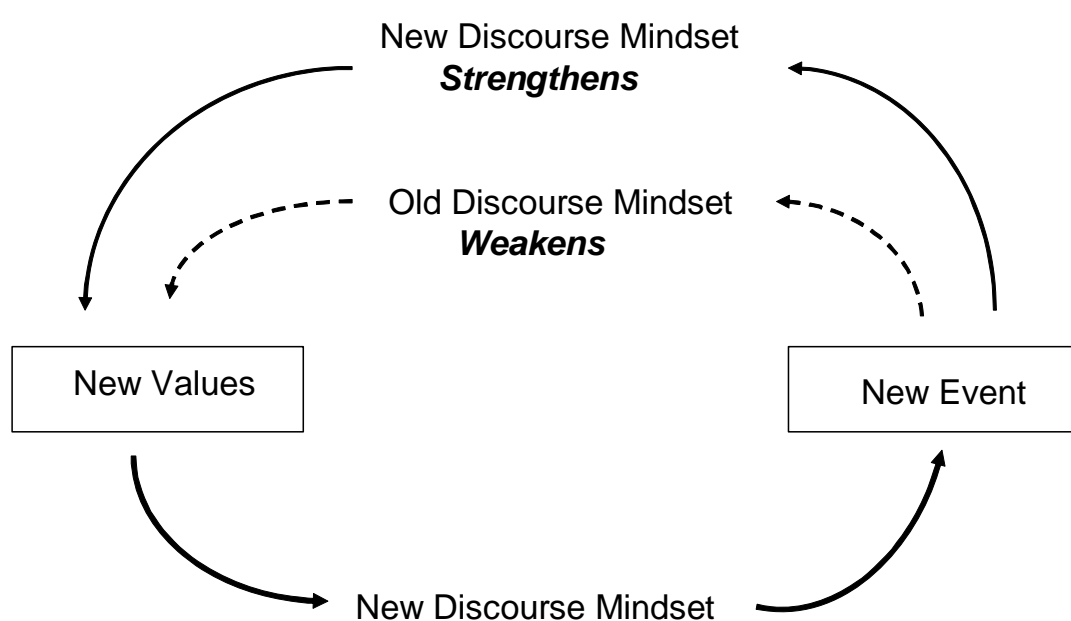
Discourse Cycle adapted from Whiteley, 2009

In addition, as is presented below, Figure 6.5 shows that meetings between official and villagers can exist in one of two ways. If the old discourse mindset prevails, then the new values advocated by the NESD plans are weakened. The latest NESD plan, for instance, emphasised villagers' inclusion. But, in fact, what occurred was that the villagers ended up only listening while the officials adopted the habit of giving orders and setting deadlines. Carrying on such habitual behaviour would make the accomplishment of NESD plan goals quite unlikely. In comparison, bringing into the open a new discourse mindset, which this study highlights, strengthens the values of the NESD plans and improves the chance of related goal attainment. Given that the majority of the population in Thailand is so-called grassroots, and need the

opportunity for development, the related officials need to put effort into understanding the habitual nature of the villagers, as well as their own.

As is evident in this study, villagers needed more time to understand details of any development project and also needed to work more on the projects. For villagers to establish new values, and to speak up about what is on their minds, would take long time to achieve. Nevertheless, officials should also learn how differently the villagers conversed in relation to themselves as showed in Figure 6.2. As suggested per Figure 6.5, officials and villagers should adopt a new mindset that helps both groups to understand the objective of the 9thNESD plan especially by focusing on grassroots participation and in facilitating local development. To implement this, officials would need to coach and encourage locals in order to secure their involvement in local development, particularly any that are initiated by the grassroots level in the community, not from the officials' initiation. Meanwhile, the locals will need to communicate among themselves in a constructive manner and they should also be a part of any decision making process in relation to development projects, doing so in order to strengthen their voice in the community. For example, the officials should only be a facilitator or a coach in supporting them how to work around the idea brought up by the group of villagers; help them in discussion process and prioritising the necessities of the issues for their community.

Figure 6.5 Villager/Official Circle of Communication



Discourse Cycle and Values adopted from Whiteley, 2009

6.4 Contribution to the study

The research objective was to examine the communication practices of the Thai government officials and villagers as mentioned by the National Economic and Social Advisory Council that poor communication and a lack of adequate understanding between the government and public sectors. The 9th National Economic and Society Plan is intentionally selected to be an exemplar context studying the officials and villagers' discourse pattern. The 9th plan emphasises on the participation of all level which that change is introduced to both the officials and villagers. Before the 9th NESD plan, the officials seemed to give order and the villagers just cooperate and follow as guided, but the 9th plan encourages the villagers to be part of the decisions instead of the recipients. It is role switching. Communication is essential to all society contexts not only to the national policy. In everyday life, people meet others from different experience and culture and a lot more thing that ones to make understand through language, therefore people discourse; communicate. Especially, when dealing with change, communication becomes crucial. However, culture is sometime taken for granted that it could be one of the problems when dealing with people especially from different background (Schein, 1985). It is worth to learn that Thai society is hierarchical (Komin, 1999) and close interpersonal relationship is put important (Mulder, 2000). Communication, therefore, in Thai society is normally top-down. Ferraro (1998) confirms that a close relationship exists between language and culture. Unfortunately, Thais are not alone within their compatriot, integration and agreement among Southeast Asian countries has formed an association of Southeast Asian nations (ASEAN) community to share mutual benefit forming the market and investment among ASEAN country members.

In year 2015 is projected that ASEAN community should become one in terms of trade, investment, and capital, free flow of goods and services as well as workforce (ASEAN Secretariat, 2009). Workforce from other ASEAN countries will bring in their language and culture to the Thailand. The host country and the guests become new to one another culture and language. Top-down communication might create trouble, confusion, and culture shock to the superior since new members probably practice the other way around. Public sector and government sector should encourage people to be prepared and open to new cultures while trying to understand

that the top-down communication might not be compatible with today society where people exchange ideas and dialogues, especially seen online. Refer back again to Figure 6.3 Villagers and officials – a comparison of communication paradigms, the triangles can be placed with other culture members to be examined and learnt what could be the roots of the differences. The study provides what to begin with when comes to the communication with people from different culture. Understanding and cooperation between two cultures should be achieved it ones believe as Mead (1934/1964) states that society is possible because individuals act together and cooperate. This cooperation is only possible because each person has the ability to mentally place themselves in the position of others. This empathetic ability – to feel for others- allows a collective understanding, and a tradition that is learnt. It is suggested that the government officials should learn villager's cultures and the Asian countries' culture not only the languages but the way of lives and thinks of people. This should benefits to all parties and together succeeds the goals they set.

6.5 Limitations of the Study

This study was deliberately limited to communication practices for reasons explained earlier. Consequently, any data gathered on issues, such as decentralisation, is a bonus and provides possibilities for future research. A purposive sample was drawn up in the research design. Two groups were to be interviewed- officials and villagers- who lived in Thai villages spread over a vast geographic area. There was some difficulty in ensuring all areas were included because, at the time of the fieldwork, there was civil unrest in predominantly the Muslim-populated South.

Field work difficulty was experienced during the conduct of the study as follows:

Practical

Provinces in the same region usually set the same date for the monthly village meeting and the monthly district meeting. When a village or a respondent is booked to attend one of the meetings, it is impossible for such a person to attend the other. The rainy season is also another obstacle as it impairs researchers from going out in the field for data collection. Some areas had to be avoided during rainy season due to the high risk of flash floods that could come at anytime.

Interviewing

It was necessary to bring along a person who was familiar with the locals in order to gain trust from the local respondents and to help out when having dialect or cultural difficulties. Such people were not always available. In addition, government officials, especially those who were highly placed, preferred the making of appointments well in advance and also expected the presentation or delivery of a document stating the purpose of the interview, as well as the identification of the researcher. Some officials also asked for a list of research questions before they allowed us to book a date. Also, the manner and attire had to be appropriate with the time, place, and the person with whom interviewers had to meet.

6.6 Recommendations for Further Research

There are at least four issues that are recommended for further research. First, an in-depth study of how the NESD plans is being implemented, and should be implemented, in the rural areas. This could be conducted by way of a field study as to the progress of community development, as well as through the collection of related feedback from both the villagers and officials, as should reflect the success of the NESD plans. Second, it is recommended that future research focus upon how Communitarian Grassroots Development could be fostered and implemented in the villages. For example, success stories of some communities could be utilised to understand how community-based processes led to any successes. Third, future research could focus upon the interaction between the villagers and the officials, as is a dynamic process. It is observed that the traditional relationship between superiors and inferiors is a considerable challenge, such as when younger people are reluctant to ask questions of superiors and adults. Even so, the superior-inferior relationship might be compared over time, from what existed in the past to how it is at the present. In addition, the conversation barrier that was detected in this study should also be reviewed more thoroughly. Fourth, future research could monitor how the Thai cultural aspect of interpersonal communication is changing. For instance, the infusion of international culture, especially which from Western countries, plus

telecommunications technology, can have an effect upon the lives of Thai people. That potential impact can provide researchers with an additional point of view in relation to interpreting communication, such as through analysing the different ways that Thais interpret and react to a message in so-called modern times. Of particular interest to future researchers would be the potential improvement in villager-official communication, as would prompt and sustain a movement towards greater villager participation, as is envisaged by the NESD plans that strive for social and economic development in Thailand.

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Appendix

Transcript conventions for discourse analysis

Presentation Conventions

- | | | |
|---|----------|---|
| 1 | | Line numbering is arbitrary and done for convenience of reference (e.g. L 1). Line numbering does not indicate a measure of time or utterances. Silences between talk may also receive a line number. |
| 1 | D | Letter in the second column identifies speaker. |
| 2 | * | Indicates that identity of speaker(s) is uncertain |
| 3 | ** | Indicates two or more unidentified speakers
These symbols are not a standard convention. |
| 4 | • | dot in left hand margin draws readers attention to particular parts of the transcript, which are in the analysis [you can't add this until later] |
| | . | vertical dots in left hand margin indicate that intervening turns at talk have been omitted |
| | . | |
| | . | |
| | ... | horizontal dots indicate that an utterance is partially transcribed |

Sequencing

- | | |
|---|--|
| [| point of overlap onset; |
|] | point at which utterance terminates; |
| = | no gap between lines (latching utterances). When the same speaker continues on the next line latching signs are not used |

Timed intervals

- | | |
|-------|--|
| (0.0) | lapsed time in tenths of a second e.g. (0.5) [when no one is talking] |
| , | comma indicates a gap between utterances which is like a very short pause; |

Speech production characteristics

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| <u>word</u> | underline indicates speaker emphasis; |
| <u><u>word</u></u> | double underline indicates loud sounds relating to surrounding talk; |
| WORD | upper case indicates shouting; |
| ↑↓ | marked shifts in higher or lower pitch in utterance immediately following arrow; |
| ! | animated and emphatic tone; |
| ? | rising intonation, not necessarily a question; |

.	full stop, stopping fall in tone, not necessarily end of sentence;
(....)	indicates a fading away which is unintelligible.
•h	indicates an in breath . The more hs the longer;
hhh	no dot indicates outbreath;
Heh –heh – huh –huh	laughter particles;
☺	laughter, especially when "All ☺" .
CT	cross talk;
AT	all talk;
(.....)	a fading away that is unintelligible.

Transcriber's doubts and comments

()	inability to hear what was said;
(word)	dubious hearings or speaker identification;
(())	transcribers descriptions rather than or in addition to transcriptions.

Continuers (in English)

mm may indicate intention to start a turn.
yea

mm enthusiastic tone = I agree a lot.

mm toneless = yes, go on.

mm dull tone.= I am being polite.

yea
but both used as a way of cutting in.

(Source: Adapted from Have, 1997, pp.313-314 and Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998, pp.vi-vii.)